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A CENTURY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

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(1788—1898)

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book originated in my wishing to make myself conversant with the modern history of the two Peninsular Kingdoms. I found, however, that it was impossible to do so without resorting largely to Spanish, Portuguese, French and German authors. In these circumstances, it appeared to me that there ought to be some demand for a work, in English, dealing with the period under reference. I now submit to the public the result of my reading and researches.

GEO. F. WHITE

DURHAM
October, 1909

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A CENTURY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THAT westward rolled the great tides of immigration which mainly peopled Europe is usually admitted. Concerning, however, these earlier dispersions, movements, and settlements of the races, most historians limit themselves to generalities and speculation. Not so those of Spain. They maintain perseveringly that Tubal was the ancestor of their nation, and many of them that his grandfather, the patriarchal Noah, visited the country in person and sojourned awhile in the midst of his descendants. For the purposes of this opening chapter there is no intention of investigating history so ancient; yet, as connected with the subject, it may here be touched upon that, occupying a corner in the north-west of Spain, in the district known as the Basque Provinces, there exists a people distinct altogether in their mysterious speech from the rest of the Peninsula—a people in the midst of whom were fought out the two long Carlist wars of the nineteenth century.

The Phœnicians, the earliest maritime nation of whom we have any accurate knowledge—adventurous seamen, enterprising traders—attracted seemingly in chief by the mineral wealth of Spain, circled its coasts, maintained extensive dealings with its inhabitants, formed permanent settlements on its shores, and visited the interior. At a later period sprang up some Greek colonies upon the eastern seaboard. Carthage, rising from a city originally Phœnician and expanding to dominant power in Africa, had also a considerable governing

and trading connection with the country. She numbered Cadiz amongst her subject cities.

Then Rome commenced to assert her sway in the Mediterranean, thus leading to her long drawn-out struggle against Carthage. With the first of these Punic wars Spain was not concerned: before the second Hamilcar had conceived and carried into execution a design of extension of Carthaginian dominion whereby, at the time of his death, he ruled over what may be described roughly as the south-eastern half of the peninsula. Under his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and his son, the renowned Hannibal, this occupation was pushed northwards to the Ebro. Hannibal then made his memorable march through Gaul into Italy, which became the chief scene of military operations. While the war was in progress a Roman army penetrated into Spain from the north. Successful at first, it was afterwards nearly annihilated. Carthaginian ascendancy was again re-established, and now nearly throughout the whole country. Such, however, was the undauntedness and perseverance of the Romans that, notwithstanding the appalling dangers which threatened their very existence in Italy, they succeeded so effectively in succouring the remnants of this force that it became the vanguard of those legions which disappeared from Spain only with the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

This occupation, commencing some two hundred years before the Christian era, lasted through the first four centuries of it. A country so vast, inhabited by hardy warlike tribes, crossed by many elevated mountain ranges, traversed by innumerable rivers, and subject, according to locality, to the extremes of climate, was of necessity not brought to the condition of a Roman province until after much long, arduous campaigning and many revolts against the conquerors. Some parts of the inclement mountainous north, included in the already spoken of Basque Provinces, the invaders seem never to have penetrated into, at all events to have never quite subdued. Each chapter in the story has, however, the same ending. A Viriatus might now and again arise and show what a determined people may achieve in defence of their land, a Numantia might presage a Saragossa, yet sooner or later victory rested with the legions. Submission, annihilation, slavery, to be led captive through the streets of Rome, confronted here as elsewhere the "barbarian." Here, too, as in other provinces, the vanquished were enrolled under the standards of the victors,

and natives of the land marched with the eagles to the furthermost quarters of the known world. Meanwhile the Prætor, the tax-gatherer, the builder had followed close upon the invaders. No idea of retrocession was for a moment entertained. The conquerors were there as settlers. The river was bridged permanently; the mountain pass was widened to a campaigning road; the aqueduct spanned the valley; baths and amphitheatres appeared.

In no respect is this thorough Romanising of the Peninsula more evident to this day than in the language now spoken. The student who turns from a Latin to a Spanish Grammar finds at once familiar friends in *amo, amas; amaba, amabas;* in *el rey*, the king; *ejercito*, an army; *ala*, a wing; *campo*, a field. With the construction of the complete sentence he is already familiar. Notwithstanding the three hundred years of the Goth and the seven hundred years of the Arab, the language of Spain, as well as of the sister kingdom Portugal, remains essentially Romanic.

During these early centuries nearly every Roman who rose to eminence had a hand in shaping the course of history within the Peninsula. Two Scipios fell there during the Second Punic War. It was by another, Africanus, afterwards victor at Zama, that the Carthaginians were driven from the country. A fourth, Æmilianus, who compassed the fall of the city of Carthage, was entrusted with the conduct of that memorable war which centred in the terrible and heroic siege of Numantia. Under him fought Jugurtha and Marius. The austere Cato Major, sixty years earlier, had been honoured with a triumph at Rome for his successes in Northern Spain. In the decline of his life, when the not unusual arbitrary and extortionate courses pursued by those in authority had brought an embassy of appeal to the Senate, he successfully advocated the cause of the oppressed Spaniards. Of the Gracchus family several members figure in the affairs of the Peninsula. During the period of the Roman civil wars the area of conflict extended itself to Spanish soil, where Sartorius established for himself an almost independent dominion, despite the efforts against him in the field of such redoubtable antagonists as Metellus and Pompey. Finally, in the last of the heathen centuries, Julius Cæsar conducted successfully a series of operations in the westernmost part of the country. He was engaged, too, there in civil conflict with the sons of Pompey, having under him the future ruler of the world, Augustus, who afterwards, when Emperor, undertook

the subjugation of the ever-rebelling inhabitants of the north-western mountain lands, and spent two years in the country.

The Christian era thus dawned upon Spain nearly wholly subdued, and becoming in the south and east thoroughly Latinised. The tide of Roman Empire soon stood at high-water mark: the wars which were waged in vain attempts to prevent it receding had far distant provinces for their scenes: thus the four hundred years which preceded the irruption of the hordes from the north were for Spain centuries of advancing civilisation and increasing population. The richness of the land in minerals, its productiveness in corn, its wine and oil contributed to make it the most thriving and opulent of the provinces. Spanish historians point with pride, if not with strict accuracy in each case, to the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Theodosius, to the writers Lucan and the Senecas, as Spaniards who have added to the worldwide renown of Imperial Rome.

This long period of peace was, moreover, favourable to the spread of Christianity. The Romans, we know, were tolerant to the practice of religions other than their own, provided these were not made use of as instruments for undermining the central authority; a rule of government which might perhaps have been borne in mind, advantageously, after the schisms in the Christian Church itself had plainly become permanent, no less than when Spaniards began to carry the Cross to a world and amongst nations whose existence was not even suspected in these early times. In no other of the modern kingdoms of Europe have the ministers of religion wielded such an enormous state-power over princes and people as those of Spain, extending at one time to vast trans-atlantic possessions, and continuing an ever-working secret machinery throughout the nineteenth century. Hence the history of her Church possesses, especially since the Reformation, a very great and peculiar interest; and its influence has to be borne in mind, down to events quite modern, as each political crisis arises. Sufficient for the moment that, at the opening of the fifth century, the country could be termed Christian, and that the Spaniards, in their zeal for the establishment of that religion, had contributed their full share to the calendar of martyrs.

Meanwhile, for a century and a half, with ever-increasing numbers and daring, the so-termed Barbaric Hordes from the north had been pressing upon, or actually settling within, the

confines of Roman dominion, until, at the beginning of the fifth century, from east to west, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Rhine, had gathered weight that irresistible avalanche of Huns, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and other nationalities which, sweeping away all opposing barriers, overwhelmed the enfeebled Empire. Rome was taken and sacked by Alaric in 410, about the same time that a current of Suevi, Vandals, and Alani crossed the Pyrenees and entered Spain: an invasion which was facilitated by the discontent arising from a tyrannous taxation, extortion, and general oppression of the lower orders, by the system of slavery which existed, by a long peace and by the weakness of the garrisons, for Spain had been drained of her bravest sons in order to fight elsewhere the battles of Rome. In the wake of these first invaders arrived a large body of Goths, who had been induced to direct their movements to Gaul, whence they entered Spain, but who restored their conquests, at least nominally, to the Western Empire under Honorius.

In this way, with the further disruption of the Empire, arose a West-Gothic kingdom, which stretched across the Pyrenees and included France as far north as the Loire. The Vandals, to the number, it is stated, of eight hundred thousand, passed into Africa, where they founded a separate kingdom. There was also in existence, for the greater part of two hundred years, a kingdom of the Suevi, embracing Galicia and a westward strip, extending down to the Tagus, of what is now Portugal. Under the Emperor Justinian much of the south-east of the Peninsula was conquered from the West Goths: this in due course they recovered, after having already absorbed the Suevic kingdom, but having on the other hand lost nearly all the territory they possessed north of the Pyrenees. Such in briefest outline is the history, geographically, of the Peninsula during three hundred years of Visigothic sovereignty. Thus the Saracens, the next invaders, entered a kingdom lying almost within what may be termed its natural boundaries, the Pyrenees and the ocean; though it must not be omitted that, throughout all these years, the Basque Provinces, without having any regular line of rulers, maintained a sort of independence under a form of government and institutions of their own.

Turning to these centuries politically and socially, it is firstly to be noted that the conquerors were already Christians, having been converted a hundred years or so before they crossed the Pyrenees. They were, however, Arians, a circumstance which

retarded the intermingling of the races, and for a very long period involved all classes, from the throne downwards, in contention and bloodshed. Speaking generally, the Teutonic invaders carried with them the framework of what should have been an acceptable rule: a king, general assemblages of the people, local administrative bodies, and above all the individual liberty of the subject. This they adapted, readily and wisely, to forms of government and institutions as they found them existing in the countries which they overran. Hence, as the inhabitants of the Peninsula were suffering iniquitously under the decaying Roman Empire, they were, after the first bloodshed of conquest, benefited to some extent by this great immigration of the fifth century.

Nevertheless the bulk of the conquered inhabitants were held in a condition of bondage; while wars before the Roman troops were finally expelled, wars against the Franks, the Suevi and the indomitable Basques, added to ever-recurring civil strife, arising from two conflicting religions and from an elective form of monarchy, robbed the country for two hundred years of any continuous repose. The prevalence of lawlessness and violence is perhaps most readily brought to notice in the fact that of some thirty Visigothic kings, who occupied the throne, about a third were assassinated. Before, however, the Saracens commenced their victorious march from the southern coast, there had intervened a long period of peace and general decay, which materially assisted an easy conquest of the land. Arianism had vanished; the Latin tongue had reasserted itself; but it is to be noted that it was not until after the middle of the seventh century that intermarriages between Goths and the subject race were sanctioned by law.

Mahomet, a century and a half or so before this new and momentous invasion of the Peninsula, had been born in obscurity and poverty. From a nursling of the desert, a votary to solitude and contemplation, he had, after an ever-memorable life, regard him as we may—divinely inspired apostle, frenzied visionary, or mere impostor—at the time of his death solidly founded and given his name to a new religion throughout Arabia. To his successors there fell by conquest Syria, Persia, much else of Asia, Egypt, and Northern Africa. They thus held rule within sight of the rock of Gibraltar. Passing by the much controverted point as to how they gained a footing upon the Spanish side of the Straits, we have the prominent fact that in 711 a decisive battle, in the fullest sense of the word,

was fought between these ever-advancing Mahometans and an army under Roderick, the last of the Gothic kings. Victorious in this, which took place in the extreme south of the Peninsula, the invaders, though comparatively inconsiderable in numbers, made headway so energetically that, after a couple of years, they were in possession of full two-thirds of the country: at the end of a further like period their dominion touched the Pyrenees; they then penetrated to the south-east of France.

It is impossible not to be struck at the sudden unexpected way in which this Gothic kingdom fell prostrate and was trampled in the dust. Treachery, both by overtures to the Moslem leaders in Africa and by desertions on the actual fatal field of battle; martial confidence, a high-spirited valour, religious fervour on one side, on the other a people whose warlike instincts had become enervated by a long peace; the dissolute habits of many of the later Gothic kings, adopted by the people; slavery; the overbearing pride of the sovereign nation, which regarded all other classes as inferiors, and so rendered them ready to accept a subversive change; a scandalous clergy wielding extensive power; the Jews, a numerous body, often cruelly persecuted; the private feuds and dissensions at Court amongst the nobles; a policy which, exercised in the interests of internal peace, had brought about the destruction of the principal strongholds in the kingdom—all these have been advanced, but can here merely be enumerated as causes which facilitated this conquest of Spain by the Moors, a name which history has adopted in regard to the Mahometans in the Peninsula.

Yet were the Spaniards, as we may now conveniently call the Christian portion of the inhabitants, but submerged. As already stated, to certain portions of the uttermost north the Roman legions seem to have never successfully penetrated: there too the Gothic kings had not held complete sway. To this region, the Asturias of later times, mountainous, cold, wet, a considerable part of the wreck of the defeated armies drifted: hither, carrying with them their sacred household utensils, fled many families irreconcilably opposed to the government and religion of the conquerors. Here, though hemmed in on all sides, they found themselves impregnably situated: here, after a few years, they crowned as their king a scion of the royal Gothic line: from here they sallied, at first but as from a fortress, yet in reality to commence a struggle of eight hundred years against the dominant Moslem—a struggle so protracted

that, five centuries later, a line drawn across Spain from the mouth of the Tagus to the mouth of the Ebro indicates, roughly, that so far only had the Spanish recovery extended.

This small Asturian stronghold of broken fortunes expanded in due course to the kingdom of Leon ; but, as more and more territory was won from the Moor, we have, instead of the enlargement of a single state, the coming into existence of several ; some rising to kingdoms, others remaining principalities or countships ; now joining, then subdividing again, ever changing and at warfare. In this latter, necessarily, the main reason why the advance southwards was so long delayed, so often driven back ; for a detailed history of these five hundred years is just as much made up of internal warfare amongst the ruling Christian princes, as of their conflicts with what should have been a common enemy.

In addition to the main struggle for increase of territory, many supplementary causes of discord were ever springing up. In some cases the Crown was elective, a fruitful source of armed contention. Certain kings found it inevitable that, according to the custom of the age, they should arrange for a division of territory amongst their sons, at or before their own deaths. Add to this the turbulent, arrogant character of the princes and nobles of Gothic blood, the chief actors in these scenes, and we have cause enough why scarcely a reign of any considerable length came to an end without strife. Nor must it be omitted that, in the course of these wars, some kings only too readily sought alliances with Moorish chiefs ; so that we very frequently find the soldiers of the Cross fighting side by side with those of the Crescent, on behalf of a Christian prince struggling for a throne, or some temporary supremacy over a neighbouring ruler.

All this, then, held back a southwards moving advance, which, however, if slow was continuous, and destined in the end to be permanent. Early in the thirteenth century the reconquered territory, a largish half of the Peninsula, comprised the kingdoms of Portugal, Leon, Castille, Navarre, and Aragon. The four last named, after certain expansions, became merged and constitute modern Spain. The other kingdom, inheriting its classic name of Lusitania from the period of the Roman occupation, has, with boundaries not greatly dissimilar to those which defined it as a province, become the Portugal of to-day. Its history so far differed, in no essential particular, from the other divisions of the Peninsula. Conquered and occupied by

Goth and Moslem, it bore its full share in warring against the latter, the while it ran a course similar to its neighbours in civil strife, usurpations, alliances, intermarriages, disputed successions, and a general thirst for expansion by fair or foul means.

Turning to the empire founded by Mahomet, we find it, when at its widest extent, stretching from the Indus in the east over Persia, Arabia, Northern Africa, and Spain to Southern France. Across the Peninsula the victors had pushed with that irresistible valour and energy which characterised their earlier conquests. An enlightened moderation attended this rapid success. There was little bloodshed except upon the actual field of battle; considerate terms of capitulation were offered and honourably adhered to; the defeated inhabitants were allowed a judicious liberty in the exercise of their religion and the retention of their places of worship; their own laws still applied to them; their own judges remained in office. The whole procedure indeed of the conquerors compares favourably with that of Romans or Goths, with that of Charles the Great, or of the Normans in many analogous instances.

Soon, however, the vast Saracen dominion was plainly demonstrating its instability; and the course of events in the Peninsula is but a repetition on a small scale of what befell the larger whole. The latter split up, in the first instance, into two great Caliphates, of which the western, or the Spanish Caliphate as it might be termed, had its capital at Cordova. Here already, almost as soon as the conquerors found themselves in possession of the country, the various governors of provinces had begun to aim at individual independence; so that by the end of a quarter of a century the land was convulsed in civil strife, and this continued intermittently for nearly two hundred years, thus enabling the Asturian kingdom to extend considerably its boundaries.

In the early part of the tenth century, however, the throne of Mahometan Spain fell to Abderahman III., distinguished no less as a wise and capable ruler than as a skilful leader in warfare. He shattered all rivalry in the Peninsula, created a powerful navy, made the might of his arm felt in Africa, and checked decisively the Christian advance. He reigned for nearly half a century, and inaugurated that period at which the Moorish dominion attained its highest, in commerce, literature, art, and science. At the end of the century the Spaniards had been so thoroughly defeated and driven back, that their position seemed almost as hopeless as when first overwhelmed by the might of Islam.

At no great interval this period of splendour and prosperity was followed by one of usurpations and wars of succession. The Spanish Caliphate split up into a number of independent sovereignties; the Christian kingdoms took advantage of the general disorder and pushed southwards; Toledo, the ancient Gothic capital, fell to them. When the sway of the Moslem seemed thus irretrievably weakened, aid in despair was implored from the opposite African coast, where for the time being a new power, the Almoravides, held an ascendancy. Coming ostensibly as deliverers, they established themselves forcibly upon the tottering thrones of their fellow-religionists, inspired the cause with fresh vigour, and stayed again the forward march of the armies from the north.

Before the close of a century this new prop to Mahometan rule was rapidly decaying. Once more a strong upholding arm was stretched forth from Africa. In the regions of the Atlas Mountains had arisen a fresh fervour of adoration of the Crescent. Having its origin much as in the case of the founder of the creed, in a single obscure enthusiast, another sect of votaries, the Almohades, had obtained predominance. Again there was a flocking together of zealots for a regeneration of their faith. Vast Mahometan forces, in supersession of the Almoravides, were poured into the Peninsula, and large districts of it recovered. This reflux was, however, the last; and when causes, not dissimilar to those which had before proved fatal to the suzerainty of Islam, were again working actively and the tide fell back, it did so both rapidly and to a considerable distance. At the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Moors were in possession of the richer, certainly, if not the greater half of the whole peninsula; fifty years later their rule was limited to Granada, a kingdom about half the size of modern Portugal.

At this juncture the following summary may prove useful. The kingdom of Leon had already, in 1230, been joined to Castile. About twenty years later Portugal extended itself to its present dimensions. As a consequence of the marriage of Isabella of Castile with Ferdinand of Aragon these two latter kingdoms were united and ruled over by their sovereigns jointly, from 1479. The Moorish kingdom of Granada lasted until 1492, when, with the fall of the capital, Mahometanism as a ruling power vanished from the land. Navarre, that is the little kingdom of that name south of the Pyrenees, continued its distinct line of sovereigns to 1512.

The two centuries and a half here run through—that is to say roundly, the epoch during which Granada ran its separate career—need not detain us long. The destruction of that kingdom was led up to by turbulence within, rather than by the vigour of its Christian assailants. Not that it was lacking in rulers of ability; for amongst them there were men enlightened as legislators, lovers of their people and benefactors to the Christians, brave, chivalrous soldiers, patrons of art, letters, and advancing refinement. Yet of its twenty-one kings not half passed peaceably from a throne to a grave; of the remainder, several were assassinated, the others deposed. Subject as it was to every vicissitude of intrigue and conspiracy, it could present but a weakening frontier to an enemy. Tribute, homage, vassalage were demanded from it and granted. The Moslem fleet, which at one time rode triumphant in the Straits, lost its supremacy. Gibraltar, after changing hands more than once, passed for ever from Islam. The encircling foe drew nearer until Granada, the capital, besieged by Ferdinand and Isabella in person, alone held out. Finally a day came when the Cross took the place of the Crescent upon the towers of the Alhambra: the day of the "Last Sigh of the Moor."

As this kingdom shrank it became bordered as to its landward margins by the expanding monarchy of Castile, to which accordingly fell the brunt of assailing it. Portugal and Aragon intermittently gave their aid; but one or the other was so frequently at war with Castile, and in the latter there were so perpetually wars as to the succession, revolts of nobles and other civil broils, that herein will be found additional reasons why Granada, as a Moorish kingdom, did not disappear from the map until the close of the fifteenth century. This epoch, the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic kings, including as it does the solidifying of the kingdom within, and, as will presently be seen, expansion in Europe, together with the acquisition of a vast overseas continent, forms necessarily a very brilliant chapter in Spanish history, darkened, however, by the encouragement given to the sway of the Inquisition and by a terribly cruel persecution of the Jews.

It was Aragon which led the way to this acquisition of additional territory in Europe. The chequered course of Italian history had brought into existence a kingdom made up of the south of the mainland together with Sicily. The uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers detached the island portion, which fell to Peter III., then King of Aragon. After having been ruled over

by his descendants until 1412, it was actually united to Aragon, as had already been the case with the Balearic Islands and Sardinia. Finally the kingdom of Naples was added, and the whole of these, at Ferdinand's death in 1516, formed part of the united Spanish monarchy. Navarre, south of the Pyrenees, he had annexed; and there was still, lying to the north of that mountain range, a portion of Aragon which was not absorbed by France until much later.

Portugal, so far merely glanced at as rising from a county to a small kingdom, and then extending to its present limits, mounts to prominence towards the close of the fifteenth century, as bringing forth a succession of great navigators and explorers who placed her conspicuously in the van of the nations about to acquire ascendancy and affluence in an age renowned for its maritime enterprise. A long and rugged coast-line, abutting upon the boisterous Atlantic, had given rise to a bold and hardy race of sailors, whose blood no doubt still felt the influence of what had been most venturesome from Phœnician to Norman days. Already, by an expedition which captured Ceuta from the Moors, the people had shown their chivalrous spirit in carrying war into the enemy's country. Another, though attended with disaster, had struck a blow at Tangiers. The neighbouring west coast of Africa furnished an unlimited field for the exercise of naval activity. Yet it was not merely chance adventurous voyages which were encouraged. The design of Portugal in the end was nothing less than to bring direct to her ports, by ships sailing round the Cape, those valuable productions and manufactures of the East which now filtered to Western Europe only after bringing profit to several infidel and Christian states by the way. In this she substantially succeeded. After creeping little by little, but ever advancing, down the African Coast, her explorers turned the Cape of Good Hope, sailed northwards and carried her flag triumphantly to India. From here again as a centre of Far Eastern enterprise, she sent forth her ships in every direction. When her overseas conquests and acquisitions had spread to their widest, Portuguese ports, settlements or trading depôts dotted east and west Africa, Madagascar, the entrances to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, Ceylon, Burmah, and China.

In this same heroic age of discovery there was also commenced by Portugal the acquirement of a huge region in the New World. One of her ships, driven out of its course, drifted

to within sight of the eastern coastland of South America. Impelled by the venturesome spirit of the age, the captain landed, erected a Cross, and, in the name of His Majesty the King, took possession of the country. In this chance way Brazil, though already visited by Spaniards, began its existence as a Portuguese colony. Here no civilised communities, no wealthy cities, no trade openings were discoverable. An inhospitable surf-swept coast, an interior covered with impenetrable forests gave a forbidding check to the zealous avidity of the earlier explorers, many of whom had the misfortune to be captured and devoured by the cannibal inhabitants. The colony accordingly was neglected. Few emigrants found their way to it; in fact, it was converted into a penal settlement and a suitable place to which to ship off bad characters from the mother country. Later, gold, silver, and precious stones having been found to exist, a tide of immigration set in, but of a useful class: men obliged to work their way, and willing to remain as settlers.

Fortunately, when the colony had acquired an importance sufficient to necessitate a viceroy, this most responsible position was held by a succession of able, honest men, who refrained from the avaricious exhausting methods almost invariably pursued by the Spaniards in their newly acquired possessions, and who mitigated the cruelties of the slavery which the earlier immigrants had instituted. Many Jews and others, driven from Portugal by a dread of the Inquisition, crossed the Atlantic to Brazil, carrying with them wealth and intelligence. To the Jesuits, who are not usually associated with what is brightest and best in the progress of the world, was allotted the task of converting the natives; and their humane and enlightened methods of combining religion and instruction again contrast most favourably with those of the conquering Spaniards, enforcing adoration of the Cross at the point of the sword. In this way Brazil developed its resources gradually and contentedly, while it provided an ample opening to emigration. There were wars certainly, often attended with cruelty, against the natives, but not of ruthless wholesale extermination, such as have left so deep a stain in the history of the other nations which were laying the foundations of an overseas dominion.

Noteworthy as is this distant expansion of Portugal, it falls almost to littleness in comparison with the wondrous career which Spain about the same time entered upon. The year which witnessed the fall of Granada is celebrated also as that

in which Columbus sailed from Spain full of hopes of arriving, by a direct route across the Atlantic, upon those plenteous Eastern lands where Portugal was gathering so rich a harvest. Instead, he found himself amongst the islands which, from the misconceptions of the time, bear the name of the West Indies. Soon followed the discovery of the mainland of America, that New World of which Spain obtained so large a portion.

While Columbus and some of his successors were strengthening their hold on these islands, others of his countrymen were more actively engaged upon fresh voyages of discovery. For gold was plainly here no rarity, and rumours were ever flying about of its existence much more plentifully in lands not yet visited by the Spaniards. During this quest Mexico was heard of as a kingdom so abounding in precious metals as to make its conquest a great allurement. From Cuba accordingly an expedition sailed, at most a thousand strong, including a native contingent. Cortes, the commander, was a Spaniard typical of that period of great adventurers—young, fired with enthusiasm, fearless, and devoutly religious in the then accepted meaning of such words. To slay the heathen, in his ravaged cities to erect by force Christian altars sufficiently justified the enterprise. Cortes readily communicated his own eagerness and intrepidity to his small band of followers; but as, after first landing upon the pestilential mainland, there were some few who murmured for a return, he undauntedly burnt his ships.

A march to Mexico, the capital, was determined upon, and a demand made of access to Montezuma, who occupied the throne. The King, swayed by various influences, wished the intruders to retire, and his ambassadors brought peace-offerings in the form of articles of solid gold. This naturally gave an impulse to the resolution. The march commenced. Rain-drenched plains, chill blasts sweeping around a mountain chain of which the highest summits are crowned with perpetual snows, dense forests were successively encountered. The resistance of the natives, men armed with bows and arrows attempting to oppose artillery, brought upon them an appalling one-sided slaughter. Then the invaders were rewarded by a sight of the palaces, lakes, temples, and gardens of the capital of a kingdom fairly advanced in civilisation in regard to its government, agriculture, and buildings, but degraded by a religion of which human sacrifices formed a leading feature.

It is characteristic of the Spaniard that Cortes, thus perilously isolated, should have found a most imminent danger originating

with one of his own countrymen. Yet so it was: the Governor of Cuba, jealous of his victorious lieutenant, determined to supplant him, and to this end despatched to Mexico a force considerably exceeding that already in the country. Cortes hastened to the coast, and by a combination of measures, daring, forcible, or persuasive, succeeded in returning with the bulk of the new arrivals serving under his command. Meantime the city had risen, and the Spaniards, despite their most heroic endeavours, were driven from it with terrible losses, including the whole of their artillery. After a period, however, and aided by those native chiefs who sought an overthrow of the existing monarchy, Cortes regained possession of the capital; and this was followed by the acquisition of territories which, in due course, established a Mexico extending northwards to the Rocky Mountains and southwards to Panama.

Even more memorable, considering the smallness of the means employed, was a succeeding venture which conferred upon Spain immense rich possessions on the southern American mainland. The never-failing attraction, gold—visions of it in still greater profusion than met with as yet—brought the Spaniards to the Peruvian coastland. With less than two hundred men, Pizarro, dauntless yet ruthless, marched inland, crossed the Andes, and found himself confronted by the king of the country at the head of a force comparatively overwhelming. Treachery was resorted to; the King was invited to a conference, was seized, and there took place an indiscriminate wholesale slaughter of his soldiers, ending in a panic-stricken flight of the survivors. The ransom of the captive was arranged at the price of one room full of gold and two of silver; but though this stipulated amount was duly handed over to the invaders, he was detained a prisoner and subsequently executed on the pretence that he was secretly fomenting a conspiracy to bring about his release. Next followed the occupation of Cuzco, the celebrated capital of the country, where, as in Mexico, the Spaniards had to withstand a most formidable uprising which all but overwhelmed them. Soon Peru passed permanently under their rule, and became, certainly as to minerals, their most valuable overseas possession.

These were the only actual kingdoms existing in the New World, where the further extension of Spanish dominion continued its course, impeded only by natural obstacles and the opposition of the more warlike of the various aborigines. Chile was readily explored from Peru; the territories lying north and

east of it, as well as those which take their name from the wide Plate estuary, having failed comparatively in a yield of the precious metals, were colonised but slowly, as their agricultural value and trading positions began to be recognised. Thus, in the sixteenth century, the vast American continent, from the latitude of the Mississippi to Patagonia, had, with the exception of Brazil, fallen to Spain, and she held also the West Indian, Philippine, and other islands.

At about the time when Napoleon's power had reached its highest, there commenced the disseverance from Spain of the whole of her colonies situated on the mainland. These momentous losses will be dealt with in a later chapter. Meantime something may be said of existing conditions and of the Spanish colonial procedure generally. In lands stretching between such extremes of latitude, the conquerors came in contact with peoples ranging from naked cannibals to the Peruvians, whose institutions included an enlightened form of Socialism. All these millions of souls were handed over to the guardianship of Spain as part and parcel of the land by the Pope, whose authorisation, nominally at least, was sought for each new acquisition, and who on one occasion as mediator drew, with a single stroke of the pen, a dividing line right across the globe between the claims of Spain and Portugal. Thus sanctified, conquest was held to include the forcible conversion of the natives to Christianity—the least, perhaps, of their hardships; for, though many priests no doubt allowed their zeal far to outstrip their humanity, the majority protected their charges, and were specially enjoined so to do from Rome.

Still the Indians were everywhere regarded and treated as a servile class. They were robbed of their gold, silver, or precious stones, and torture was unhesitatingly applied in the eager pursuit of all such valuables. During multitudinous expeditions of discovery and conquest they were impressed, whole villages at a time, to act as carriers. Children of tender years were obliged to work; their elders were taxed in addition, were forced to buy goods they had no need of, as well as to pay exorbitantly for Masses and the ceremonies attending marriages and funerals. For the execution of the tasks imposed upon them many were altogether unfitted, physically and from their previous modes of life; least of all could they withstand the underground labour of the mines; and so flagrantly was this the case in Peru that, when such a lot fell to a man, his relatives and friends usually took leave of him as if on his deathbed.

Even in the time of Columbus a complete depopulation of certain districts had taken place, but it would be unjust to omit that Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as Charles V., did their utmost to put an end to such cruelties. They, however, found themselves powerless: their humane orders and regulations were unheeded. Numbers of the unfortunate Indians were driven in despair to suicide, after lives of enforced ignorance spent in the constant presence of savagery, extortion, and priestly bigotry.

While Spain, through her officials, was acting thus oppressively towards her new subjects, she was pursuing a commercial policy no less misguided. This, in the infant days of the colonies, cannot be imputed to her as a fault; it was inevitable that she should wander astray from certain trading principles now universally recognised. The predominant notion was that, having possessed herself of this new continent, she must retain it rigidly for her own exclusive benefit. The gold found to exist was shipped as largely as possible to Spain, where a liberal share of it passed direct to the Sovereign himself, who also held certain monopolies. No other countries could have trade dealings with her overseas ports; the crews of vessels attempting it were liable to the death penalty; Spanish-built ships only must be employed. The commercial relations between the various provinces themselves were no less rigorously curtailed. Certain colonies and districts were directed to produce certain articles and those only; all were prohibited from growing or manufacturing what could be transmitted from the mother country, whose markets would thereby be interfered with. Emigrants were not allowed to depart from home without a permission; but as passes were purchasable, and there is always an inclination to be rid of lawless, do-nothing characters, a considerable stream of this class set in across the Atlantic.

As will be seen presently, the resources of Spain were, from the early part of the sixteenth century, subject to a severe and continuous strain, by reason of the vast armaments which became necessary to maintain her in the position of high eminence which she had reached amongst the European Powers. Consequently, year after year consignments, by the million sterling of hard cash, were demanded from the Americas. In addition to the imposition of this tax we find viceroys, captains-general, judges, police officers, and others in authority, appointed by the Court at home, proceeding to the colonies intent mainly on amassing fortunes and returning to spend them in Spain. As

most of these officials purchased their positions, here was an additional justification, in their eyes, for reimbursing themselves handsomely.

On the other hand there were the Spaniards who, having made the Americas their permanent home, could by no means approve this system of extracting every possible benefit from a colony, at the same time that practically all local liberty of action was withheld. These settlers, even if of perfectly pure blood, were as a rule excluded from every dignified or lucrative office. Thus lowered in public estimation, and debarred from raising their voices against a system venal in itself and injurious to their private interests, they became a class more and more antagonistic to their intrusive brethren. An ever-increasing half-caste population fully shared this ill-feeling, which in the sequel fermented into a fierce hatred against everything directly Spanish.

Singularly, while Spain was obtaining so great a preponderance in the New World, she was in the Old World, through her Sovereign, entering upon a course of acquisition no less memorable. Charles, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, succeeded to a kingdom which, as already stated, included the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, Sicily, and Southern Italy. Three years later, in 1519, he was elected emperor in succession to his other grandfather Maximilian, thus obtaining a direct personal share in the government of Austria and a general rule over the whole of Germany. Maximilian had married Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; hence it came about that the fertile county of that name, bordering upon Switzerland, together with the rich, populous, industrial Netherlands, also fell to Charles, who, though the first king of Spain bearing that name, is much better known to fame as the Emperor Charles V. With him commences in Spain the House of Austria or Hapsburg.

This eminence necessarily entailed vast responsibilities. A mere list of the great European events which affected Charles will show how stirring and troubled was his life. Scarcely had he become emperor before Luther, in the presence of an applauding crowd, burnt the Pope's Bull of Excommunication, and preached to the effect that the bonfire wanted only the See of Rome, or, according to some authorities, the Pope himself, on the top of it to make the blaze complete. A Nobles' War and a Peasants' War followed; and then Charles's whole reign in Germany became involved in active opposition to the leaders of

the Reformation. During a full third of it he was at open war with France, the scene of it lying frequently in Italy; and one campaign in that country remains memorable from the capture there, and the subsequent confinement in Spain, of the French king, Francis I. Another of his contemporaries was the great Solyman, Sultan of the Turks at a period when their prowess in arms was such that they besieged Vienna, and several times ravaged Hungary, reducing it in fact to a tributary state. The events following the sacking of Rome denote also the significance of the position of Charles.

Within the Peninsula itself his rule did not commence auspiciously. His education in Flanders, the swarm of rapacious office-seekers who followed him from that country, his undisguised averseness as to swearing to observe the liberties and privileges enjoyed by existing governing bodies, his eagerness for the imperial crown and for grants to enable him to quit Spain in order to receive it, all aided in bringing about a succession of risings, which were only quelled after considerable bloodshed. This effected, Charles adroitly availed himself of the circumstance, and of others during his reign, to deprive Cortes, nobles, and people alike of many established rights and immunities. An insurrection of the Moors within the Peninsula, a successful and an unsuccessful expedition against Africa, each commanded by Charles in person, alone further disturbed this portion of his wide dominions. The Reformation found a mere echo, comparatively speaking, in Spain. The Inquisition had preceded it; a few hundred Protestants were burnt, and then its light flickered out.

His crowns, his exalted position Charles voluntarily abdicated: his ailments of mind and body he attempted to find a solace for in a semi-monastic retirement where he ended his memorable life. Reverses and humiliations he certainly had to face; nevertheless, taking into account the consolidation of his peninsular kingdom, the American conquests, his personal preponderance as emperor and his leadership in European affairs, his reign may be considered as the one in which Spain stood at her pre-eminence amongst the nations of the world.

Philip II., heir to Charles, failed to be elected emperor: apart from this he succeeded to the already mentioned Spanish possessions, further augmented by the Duchy of Milan, that great bone of contention between Charles and Francis. His reign was one of alternating triumphs and disasters. To the lustre of his name in Europe he added by a marriage with

Mary, Queen of England. The battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines were signal victories over the French; that of Lepanto over the Turks was yet more decisive. The grasp upon Italy was strengthened; Popes were made sensible that their temporal power rested with Philip. On the other hand the seeds of the Reformation falling upon the Netherlands had there, in part, planted themselves for ever. Fire and sword swept the country in a vain endeavour to uproot them. By the end of the reign the seven northern provinces, better known as Holland, had been lost. Of the great Armada, carrying the chains which were to bind England in slavery to Spain, only some shipwrecked remnants ever landed.

South of the Pyrenees two notable events happened. The first arose from a disputed succession to the throne of Portugal. One of the claimants was Philip himself, who marched an army into the country and annexed it to his crown. The other was a war with the Moors. This people had on first subjection been treated, socially and as to their religion, with a commendable forbearance. An eagerness for their conversion soon manifested itself, increasing with the years to bigoted persecutions. These gave rise to disturbances in the time of Ferdinand, to an insurrection in that of Charles, and now to a widespread rebellion, which was only stamped out after a prolonged and bloody conflict. In the following reign they were transported wholesale from the country: a most impolitic measure which deprived Spain, decreasing in population and decaying in industry, of many hundred thousands of hard-working, thriving agriculturists and artisans.

Obviously a kingdom circumstanced as Spain was on the death of Philip II., embracing outlying principalities in Europe and a vast transatlantic continent, required a ruling hand of no ordinary dexterity and activity. As it happened, every sovereign who for a century and a half sat upon her throne had personal incapacity as his chief characteristic. At rare intervals appeared statesmen of eminence; scores of others were hopelessly incompetent, many were grossly venal to boot. Thus rudderless, when storms assailed she began to go to pieces. An ill-advised attempt to do away with certain rights and immunities enjoyed by Catalonia brought about a revolt in that province. France took advantage of this and marched an army across the Pyrenees in aid of the insurgents, with a result that in the end she gained a slice of the Netherlands as well as the remaining Spanish territory which lay to the north of those

mountains. Portugal rose, proclaimed a king—with whom commences the House of Braganza—and in due course entirely threw off the yoke of Spain. England conquered Jamaica.

These losses occurred mainly under Philip IV., who reigned from 1621 to 1665. Greater ones followed during the early part of the next century. In 1700 Charles II. of Spain died leaving no direct heir: hence ensued the memorable war of the Spanish Succession, which for ten years devastated Central Europe, Italy, and the Peninsula. Broadly defined, it was the might of France and Spain pitted against the other Great Powers: the point at issue whether a Bourbon or a Hapsburg should sit upon the Spanish throne, whether Imperial or French influences should be paramount at Madrid. Confining events as far as practicable to the Peninsula: Philip, grandson of Louis XIV. of France, the heir according to the testament of the deceased king, arrived at Madrid and assumed the crown amidst the acclamations of a nation which in the main desired him, and certainly fought for him with a heroic constancy.

Another claimant was the Austrian Archduke who afterwards succeeded to the Empire as Charles VI. He too appeared upon the scene, found partisans, chiefly among the disaffected Catalans, was proclaimed king, and, aided by English, Dutch, and Portuguese troops, strove to maintain his pretensions against the Spanish and French allied. Few other campaigns have been so plenteous in the unexpected, or have witnessed such fluctuations of ascendancy and discomfiture. A body of English sailors surprised and held Gibraltar. Barcelona was captured in a manner yet more astonishing. Philip was once driven across the Pyrenees into France, twice from Madrid, which was occupied by his rival. Of the few considerable English military surrenders on record, one of the largest took place.

In the end Philip was victorious, inasmuch as he obtained the crown and wore it for nearly half a century, thus establishing the House of Bourbon in Spain. Elsewhere, however, the fortune of war turned against him so fatally that he lost all his outside European possessions. The Netherlands passed to Austria, as did the greater part of Italy. Gibraltar is still held by Great Britain. Later there was an indirect recovery in Italy, brought about mainly by the grasping insistence of Philip's second wife, who—there being children by the first—devoted no small amount of her fiery energy towards obtaining in that country principalities for her own sons. In 1735 Charles, the eldest, became King of Sicily and Naples—the Two Sicilies.

The second, Philip, at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle obtained the Duchy of Parma and some slight additions to it. Comparatively after this until the outbreak of the French Revolution, Spain enjoyed a freedom from hostilities on a great scale: such as she was involved in arose from her alliances with France; the scene of them lay in the West Indies, and their character was necessarily naval.

Long before this, since in fact the days of the Armada, it was plain that the supremacy of the ocean no longer rested with Spain. She had annexed Portugal, an acquisition which, while it gave her all the colonial possessions of that country, imposed upon her the defence of them; and this at a period when the English and Dutch were formidable sea Powers. Hence it happened that the sixty years of effacement of Portugal from the map of Europe, as a separate kingdom, deprived her of most of her overseas acquisitions permanently, with the exception of Brazil. Her navy had been crippled from having to throw in its lot with the ill-fated Armada. The Dutch, engaged in their long heroic struggle against the yoke of Spain, assailing the latter in the Eastern seas, gained victories in Java, Sumatra, India, and Ceylon: in short, they there superseded the Portugese, and in this course of despoilment were followed by the English.

Brazil, too, was conquered by the Dutch, though they were unable to retain it. This colony slighted, as already mentioned, while her rich Eastern sisters were being courted by adventurous fortune-hunters, had yet prospered, and chiefly from the iufluence of the useful industrious class of immigrants who had made it their permanent home. The Jesuits, with a praiseworthy perseverance, had continued to labour for the diffusion of Christianity among the natives. The country was, however, in no position to withstand the energy of the Dutch, who captured the capital as well as other important towns, sent home an enormous amount of plunder, and regarded themselves as there permanently. So continued that covetous rapacity which has left such a deep stain upon the European Powers in the administration of their colonies. High-handed measures, extortion, an avaricious absorption of wealth by the mother country, nurtured, however, a readiness for revolt. From the days when the Brazilians heard the news that Spain had ceased to hold rule over Portugal there commenced a determination to be rid of the Dutch, though the course of events in Europe delayed for about fifteen years the final recovery of the colony.

Later, the gold and the diamonds, which the early explorers had sought for in vain, made a rich addition to the products of the land.

The decay of Portugal has frequently been attributed to her incorporation with Spain: the "Sixty Years' Captivity," as it has been called. The connection certainly caused the loss of a wealth of trading possessions, and from this period the decline was somewhat rapid. But already depopulation, the result of inordinate emigration, had impaired in no small degree national industry; a wholesale expulsion of Jews had taken place; the Inquisition had been introduced; the Jesuits had established themselves. On the other hand an alliance and trading connection, useful and, as it proved, lasting, was brought about during the second half of the seventeenth century with England. Still the darkness and the languor increased until there arose a great statesman, Pombal, who by the marvellous strength of his will raised Portugal, for a bright brief period, out of the misgovernment, ignorance, poverty, and superstition which pervaded the land. He curbed the baneful power of the nobles, and opened to all classes many hitherto closed departments of the public services.

The Jesuits he expelled, the dread process of the Inquisition he converted into an open court, where the accused were allowed the benefit of counsel. He reformed the army, and abolished the slavery which existed within the kingdom. He caused the light of useful learning to break in upon the universities. He purged the law-courts, reorganised the police, and dealt ruthlessly with the assassins who infested the capital. Agriculture, trade, and commerce were reinvigorated under his rule. Above all was he conspicuous in mitigating the terrible sufferings at Lisbon, caused by the great earthquake.

On the death, in 1777, of Joseph, the king under whom these rigorous restoratives were applied, a reaction set in. So virulent was it that there was a considerable palace party who would have exulted at the spectacle of Pombal upon the scaffold, a fate he narrowly escaped. The ousted nobles again asserted their corrupt influence at Court; the government of Pombal was succeeded by that of a Camarilla; the Cortes seemed a bygone institution; education passed into the hands of Inquisitors, and the censorship of publications fell to an intolerant clergy. These were the main influences when the French Revolution broke out.

During the thirty years preceding that great event Charles III.

occupied the Spanish throne, which fell to him through the death, without children, of his brother, Ferdinand VI. He had been King of the Two Sicilies, where his rule had witnessed a subordination of the powers of Pope, nobles, and priesthood, a considerable development of the commerce of the country, and a reform of the law-courts. In Spain his purpose was to govern in a no less enlightened spirit. He, however, at the outset allowed himself to be drawn into the Family Compact with France, an agreement, manifestly directed against England, by which the two Bourbon Courts undertook to stand by each other and defend their possessions in any part of the world. This soon led to war with England, and as that Power was closely allied with Portugal, the latter country, after a spirited refusal to yield to the demands of Spain, became the scene of hostilities. Some frontier towns were captured from the Portuguese, and other successes obtained over them: then, assistance arriving from England in the form of troops, war material, and a general to command, the Spanish troops were driven back, worsted, into their own country, and shortly afterwards a peace was concluded.

This war with England was accompanied by disasters and losses to Spain in other quarters of the globe. It has been seen how were gone from her all those colonies which were properly Portuguese. Her own had suffered but little curtailment, and that chiefly in the West Indies, where English, Dutch, and French had all obtained a footing. Now, in the war under notice, the English attacked Cuba, and, after operations which reflect no discredit on the defence, captured Havana, the capital. They also gained possession of Manila in the Philippine Islands. These conquests were restored at the Peace of Paris in 1763, though the English strengthened their position by acquiring permanently some of the smaller West India islands. Jamaica they had held since the time of Cromwell.

During the course of the hostilities which led to the foundation of the United States, the coalition against England was joined by Spain, with a result that the latter had to her credit, near her own shores, the recovery of Minorca and the capture of a rich merchant fleet, counterbalanced by a crippling naval defeat off Cape St. Vincent and the failure to obtain possession of Gibraltar, which sustained a memorably heroic siege of three and a half years. It is to be noted that, during the coalition of the preceding reign, Pitt had made overtures as

to the restoration of this important fortress; the price was that Spain should throw in her lot with England. In the West Indian region Spain obtained the cession of the two Floridas, though the naval operations in that quarter showed England to be a match for France and Spain combined.

The above, in outline, are the chief external events of the reign of Charles III., which, within the kingdom, was a period of enlightenment and progress. The government indeed remained, as it had for a long time been, that of a sovereign and a few personal ministers; the latter frequently much occupied in over-reaching one another. Taking a hand in this subtle game of statecraft were usually to be found a Court favourite or two, a designing Jesuit or the King's confessor. Yet Charles, exalted though his notions were of the royal prerogative, struggled, with much honesty of purpose, seconded fortunately by several very able ministers, to raise his kingdom by a series of reforms to a higher rank amongst the European States. The despotic power which he possessed he made use of, at home as well as in his vast colonial territories, to attempt to sweep away abuses, and open a road for a new order of things.

With the Jesuits he dealt after a fashion even more relentless than that of Pombal; and their plottings, their conspiracies, even those most heinous crimes which were laid to their charge, could scarcely justify the terrible blow struck at them. Without a moment's warning they were seized and expelled the country. The Pope was expected to receive them within his territories; he refused—in fact, such a dictate could only have been complied with in time; the result was that death, in a most cruel form, befell hundreds of them. Charles was no less high-handed with the Holy See in other matters. That Power had for centuries exercised its ambitions in Spain with unrestricted scope; a preponderance which during this reign was materially circumscribed. The encroachments of the clergy were now curtailed, and the monastic establishments cleansed of many of their abuses. The Inquisition was attacked, but not with equal success; so firm was the singular hold which the supposed benefits of this institution maintained upon the minds of the people. It was, however, from the Church, with an establishment far in excess of the needs of the nation, owning large estates, directing education and exercising the censorship of the Press, that Charles and his ministers experienced the most active opposition to the reforms which they successively introduced.

Yet a very formidable obstruction existed in the general antagonism of the masses to any innovations whatever. The Jesuits were barely out of the land when there was a clamour for their return. Charles would have abolished the Inquisition entirely, had he not seen good reason to fear the effect of the attempt. A proposed change in dress, prompted by the existing facilities to assassination, led to a violent tumult, and to the King finding himself making humiliating concessions, in person, to a mob at his palace gates; and this at the hands of a people usually slavishly loyal. This dead weight must be borne in mind when we come across the various attempts, in Portugal as well as Spain, of Ministries, Juntas, or foreign Powers to introduce constitutional changes; all such efforts had to contend against a low form of ignorance, gross superstitions, and deep-seated prejudices.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN the foregoing chapter the history of the Peninsula has been necessarily merely glanced at, from dim and doubtful Phœnician days to the death of Charles III., whose son, the fourth king of that name, came to the throne of Spain at a period when significant events were developing themselves beyond the Pyrenees. The assault upon the Bastille took place seven months after his accession.

Every country in Europe, North and South America, scores of far-away islands and colonies became involved, more or less deeply, in the flood which burst from the French Revolution. Of all these, Spain perhaps suffered most grievously. From other lands were swept away wrongs and oppressions, while she, after some mere brief ill-starred attempts to arise purified from her inundation, sank back again, surrounded by stagnant marshes of terrorism and suffering. Germany, stolidly, courageously reorganised her fighting power in the depths of her humiliation. Russia could claim that she had lured the armies of the conqueror of nearly all Europe to perish, by tens of thousands, amidst pitiless snows. Great Britain saw her fleets sailing triumphant upon every ocean ; and, after some reverses and failures to make the true weight of her metal felt upon the Continent, contributed to a general coalition an army strong enough to march across the Pyrenees into Southern France, and later another which took so leading a part in the decisive battle that gave a long peace to Europe. Italy, during the occupation of her soil by Republican soldiers, conceived those liberal and patriotic aspirations which led to her becoming, half a century afterwards, a United Kingdom. France herself, though eventually overrun and defeated beyond hope, could boast of a splendid roll of victories, a magnificent record of that military glory so dear to her heart, and could truly argue that

she had been crushed in the end only through a succession of coalitions, after holding at bay the whole of Europe arrayed in arms against her.

Of such-like triumphs upon the field of battle Spain had but small share; towards throwing off arbitrary abuses, towards continuing the work of Charles III., she effected nothing. On the contrary, the period from 1788 to 1808 was mainly one of reaction, of a humiliating submission to France, of defeat after defeat at sea. She saw the flower of her army ordered out of Spain to combat nations against whom there was no pretence of a quarrel, and was compelled to endure the spectacle of her King and Queen, and other members of the Royal Family, kneeling in slavish adulation and obedience at the feet of Napoleon, who swept them wholesale from the country. Immense sums were extorted from her already impoverished people, as the Emperor's troops came pouring into the land, there to remain living at free quarters for six long years. Meanwhile, resulting more or less directly from this, commenced the loss to Spain of her colonies. Not merely was there the cession, after defeat, of a West Indian or other island, but, by the time of the general peace following Waterloo, the whole of her vast wealth-producing possessions in North and South America were in full process of throwing off the sovereignty of the mother country.

Certainly the French Revolution gave rise to singular political embarrassments in Spain. Between the two nations there existed the Family Compact, which pledged them to each other in case of attack. Moreover, the Kings were cousins, and the mutual dispositions of the Courts and peoples had for many years been most friendly. Such the conditions when, in 1790, a dispute ran high between Spain and England regarding trading and settling at Nootka Sound, upon the North American coast. War seemed inevitable; the English Parliament voted a million sterling towards prosecuting it, and Charles IV. appealed to Louis XVI. for the stipulated assistance. He received for reply that war or peace rested not altogether with the King, but in part with the Constituent Assembly. Though presently the principle of an alliance was conceded, genuine harmony could not well continue. Not only were amicable relations restored between England and Spain, but the latter was soon evincing many signs of enmity against her trans-Pyrenean neighbour. Nor could this well be otherwise, when the leading developments at Paris had been an assertion of equal rights

for all classes, a spoliation of Church property, and a sweeping away of the titles and privileges of the nobility.

Great in fact had already been the anxiety at Madrid to prevent any such revolutionary infection from spreading beyond the frontier, where, had the plague been raging in France, more stringent measures against contamination could not well have been adopted, a procedure which did much to intensify ill-feeling, owing to the restrictions thus placed upon the numerous Frenchmen there engaged in trading enterprises. A rupture was, however, for the time averted, and one of the last acts of the tragedy pressing forward in Paris was the discussion of a letter written by Charles IV., praying for an exercise of leniency towards his ill-fated cousin.

The King who so appealed to the mercy of the French Convention was, unfortunately, almost entirely wanting in the qualities which might have guided him through the entanglements now spreading around him. In the prime of life at his accession, aged but forty, and of a robust constitution, he was by nature diffident and indolent, consequently easily led. Moreover, he was violent in dislikes, and in State matters largely influenced by the Queen, Maria Louisa, of the Ducal House of Parma, who had already, by taking a leading part in the dismissal of Florida Blanca from the guidance of affairs, shown her determination to assume a full share in the government. At the period we have arrived at she was infatuated in the worst, the adulterous sense of the word, with Godoy, who from the Royal Bodyguard had been advanced through various high posts to a dukedom, and now in 1792, at the age of twenty-five, had been raised to Chief Minister of State ; an elevation in every way offensive to all classes throughout the country.

This a first glance at the Court, when the execution of Louis XVI. gave a quickened impulse to the confederation tardily gathering against France. By the spring of 1793 it included Spain. The hostilities which ensued took place chiefly at either end of the Peninsula's northern mountain barrier. Near the western seaboard Spanish troops pushed some way into French territory ; on the eastern, assisted by a Portuguese contingent of six thousand men, they overran and occupied, after some repulses, nearly the whole of the Pyrénées Orientales. Meantime an incursion across the range into the Cerdaña was made by the French, who were, it is to be recollected, fighting this same year in Belgium and along the Rhine ; they had the Vendean War upon their hands ; Lyons was in a

state of insurrection, and the memorable siege of Toulon took place, at which was engaged a Spanish squadron.

Eighteen months later the position of the belligerents had been more than reversed. The Spaniards had been driven back over each flank of the Pyrenees with a wholesale loss of guns, prisoners, and war material. The French had fought their way to Pamplona on the west, nearly to Gerona on the east. Thus, with a firm footing upon the soil, they remained until, as the price of their retirement, they obtained a full recognition of their Republic and the cession of the Spanish half of the island of San Domingo, the other half having been ceded a century earlier. This was effected in July, 1795, by the Treaty of Bâle, and Godoy for his share in it was granted the title of Prince of the Peace. Some two years later he was further exalted by a marriage with a niece of the King, though generally credited with having already a wife.

Meantime, in August, 1796, was concluded the Treaty of San Ildefonso, under which Spain succumbed entirely to French influences. She placed her army, her navy, her harbours at home and abroad blindly at the disposal of her ascendant neighbour. Necessarily she was not allowed to remain merely passively hostile to England. Having arraigned that country upon a lengthy list of charges of bad faith, of insults and hostile acts, dating back to the times of the general coalition against France, and extending in locality to the remotest quarters of the globe, she declared war in October, 1796.

The operations which followed were maritime, and by the expiration of five months included the day, disastrous for Spain, when her fleet encountered that of Sir John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent. The shifting mists of a February morning disclosed to the Spanish Admiral, Cordova, the sails of an enemy inferior indeed in numbers, but in all else far superior to that of Spain. The crews of the latter were composed largely of soldiers and of impressed landsmen, with little of the heart and much less of the seafaring skill necessary for an encounter against ships commanded by such captains as Collingwood, Saumarez, Nelson, and Trowbridge. When the conflict commenced there was already some confusion amongst the Spanish vessels, and this increased so much that at one phase of the fight they were firing on each other. Between such combatants there could be but one outcome to the battle; when it ended, two of the largest and two other men-of-war had fallen into the hands of the victors, who had some four hundred men killed

and wounded against over a thousand on the side of the defeated. In the captured vessels were three thousand prisoners.

This, to the end of the century, was the chief contest of the war. Next, in severity of fighting, was an attempt made by the British to seize the Island of Teneriffe. It was a failure, and attended with heavy loss to the attacking force commanded by Nelson, who here lost his right arm. Another attempt of a like nature by the same Power upon the Island of Puerto Rico in the West Indies was also repulsed. On the other hand, Spain had to submit to a blockade and bombardment of Cadiz ; to the loss, until the Treaty of Amiens, of Minorca, and to that of the Island of Trinidad, which has since remained a British possession. Notwithstanding these endeavours and sacrifices on the part of Spain, she found her ally still offensively dictatorial. It was laid down that the French refugee nobility in the Peninsula were to quit it, a bidding which, after a while, was complied with. It was insisted that Godoy must be ousted from the Court, so he disappeared from the royal circle at Madrid, though by no means from his position as confidential adviser to the King and Queen.

The most fruitful source of bickering and upbraiding lay, however, in Portugal. That kingdom, as noticed, had dispatched a contingent which fought side by side with Spanish soldiers during the operations in the eastern Pyrenees. By the peace treaty which followed Spain undertook to use her influence towards drawing Portugal to the side of France—that is to say, towards rendering her subservient to French aims against England. This article of the treaty remained a dead letter, chiefly because Don John, the heir-apparent to the Portuguese throne, was son-in-law to the Spanish king, who, unwilling to disturb the family harmony existing between the two Courts, thus brought upon himself the arrogant censures of the Directory. Then came Spain's rupture of 1796 with England, a country already at war with France. This quickened matters a little on the part of Spain against her neighbour kingdom ; for, in a maritime struggle, great must be the advantages to England of access to Lisbon, Oporto, and other Portuguese harbours, for purposes of refuge and refitting.

But Portugal resented the pressure applied to her. Long-standing treaties, years of friendship, satisfactory commercial dealings, the safeguarding of her shipping inclined her to throw in her lot with England. On the contrary, she had everything

to fear, at home and abroad, from a quarrel with that country, whose ascendant naval prowess came daily under the eyes of her sailors and merchants. Moreover, Godoy had treated the little kingdom with deceitful arrogance. Such the environments of the situation in Portugal when the alliance with England brought to Lisbon a substantial pecuniary subsidy, together with a valuable fighting contingent made up of emigrants from France and other countries. It may here be noticed that some time before this the Queen of Portugal had become hopelessly insane, and that her son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne as John VI., had been appointed Regent.

War was thus merely temporarily averted. In 1801 there commenced a fresh and much more vigorous French intervention in Peninsular affairs. Napoleon had become First Consul. It is idle here to speculate as to when he began to conceive those ideas of universal dominion which he in part succeeded in carrying out. Enough that to his clear comprehension it was very early evident that as long as Great Britain was mistress of the ocean, his designs must fail in their completeness. How Portugal could be to him a valuable ally or a thwarting foe has been touched upon. She had angered him, too, by taking a part in a small way, at Malta and elsewhere, in wrecking the Egyptian enterprise. She must now be cajoled or coerced more effectively than heretofore. The dilatory, temporising methods of the Peninsular Courts must, he determined, come to an end.

In 1801, then, in furtherance of this policy, an agreement was entered into between France and Spain by which they were to compel Portugal to renounce her alliance with Great Britain. The essential point was that the vessels of the latter must be refused the harbourage of the Tagus and other havens, while those of France were to find a welcome there. Until this changed condition should be brought about a portion of Portuguese territory was to be occupied by Spain.

Charles IV. had now openly to declare war, though he contemplated that, under the guise of assuming the whole responsibility of the land operations, he would be able to conduct them to an appearance rather than the stern reality of success. Godoy, restored by Napoleon's consent to open favour, was nominated Generalissimo of the Spanish forces. His aim was to avoid the alliance taking too practical a shape; he trusted, in short, to be able to induce the French to remain on their own side of the

Pyrenees. The hope was doomed to a plain enough disappointment. A French army corps marched three hundred miles into the country and established itself in Ciudad Rodrigo. Le Clerc, who was married to a sister of Napoleon, commanded it: the latter's brother, Lucien, was in attendance upon Charles IV. at the Spanish headquarters; these facts were pregnant with meaning.

As to the Portuguese army, it was weak in numbers and only partially trained; the foreign division above alluded to had dwindled to a mere brigade; moreover, the belief prevailed at Lisbon that an understanding could be arrived at without an appeal to arms. In these circumstances the campaign was entered upon in May, 1801. The French remained passive spectators while Godoy crossed the frontier near Badajoz, and made his way to the Tagus at Abrantes. The Portuguese offered but a mere semblance of opposition; some towns held out for a while, others surrendered as soon as seriously threatened; prisoners and stores passed into the hands of the invaders; of determined fighting there was none. After less than a month a peace was hastily concluded, by which Portugal bound herself to shut her ports to British vessels. Further, she ceded to Spain the town and district of Olivenza, in addition to paying an indemnity to that country. To France not only was Portugal forced now to hand over the large sum of twenty-five million francs, but she was afterwards placed under a contribution of a million francs monthly.

Here we see both the kingdoms of the Peninsula prostrate under the strong will of Napoleon, who even thus early in the century was heard to let fall ominous words as to the sounding of the death-knells of the dynasties there reigning. For the moment, in 1801, it suited his views to pose as honouring the Court of Spain in bestowing regal rank upon Louis of Parma. This prince's father, Ferdinand, who was brother to the Queen of Spain, had, it will be recollected, found himself deprived of his duchy owing to its absorption into the Cisalpine Republic. Louis was now made King of Etruria, and on his marriage with Charles IV.'s daughter was *fêted* with much magnificence in Paris; a policy whereby Napoleon obtained Louisiana, which he sold two years later to the United States for a sum of over three millions sterling. This new kingdom of Louis, by the way, disappeared in 1807 much after the same fashion as his father's duchy.

The same year, 1801, was attended with disaster to Spain at

the hands of the British navy. The battle of Cape St. Vincent had left the defeated Power with little inclination to renew the conflict, at the same time that the country had to submit to a blockade of many of its chief ports, such as Cadiz and Barcelona, thus rendering hazardous the communications with the colonies, and entailing no small diminution of public and private income. In the summer a British squadron attacked Algeciras, protected by some French vessels in the bay, and more strongly so by Spanish forts and batteries upon land. At an early stage of the engagement a British seventy-four, the *Hannibal*, ran aground; later in the day it fell into the hands of the enemy, and, owing chiefly to the difficulty of manœuvring under the light winds which prevailed, the attack was a failure. The British squadron, which was under the command of Sir J. Saumarez, retired after somewhat serious losses to the neighbouring shelter of Gibraltar. It had arrived from off Cadiz, a departure which enabled a reinforcement from there of Spanish vessels to join the lately victorious French squadron off Algeciras.

The intention of the allies was now to sail back to Cadiz without further fighting, a design which the British Admiral determined to oppose, though he was in no small straits as to making himself ready again for sea. Continuous day and night-work had, however, effected much, by the end of a week, when the attempt was made. The British vessels started off in pursuit under the excited eyes of enthusiastic crowds upon the Rock, who raised cheer after cheer to the ships, whence came back cheer after cheer from crews no less buoyant and sanguine. It was about sunset when the chase began. Towards midnight the leading vessels of the pursuit were in action, with a first result that the *Real Carlos*, a Spanish three-decker, caught fire, in which plight a sister ship, the *Hermanegildo*, believing her to be an enemy, fired upon her. Both vessels shortly afterwards exploded, and so gave an untimely ocean grave to no less than one thousand seven hundred of the unfortunate crews. About the same time the *St. Antoine*, a French seventy-four, surrendered, after which losses the combined fleet, by computation in every way superior to its enemy, succeeded in gaining the harbourage of Cadiz.

In the autumn were signed the preliminaries of the Treaty of Amiens, which gave some three years' peace to the Peninsula, though no relief from the humiliating servitude to France. The terms of the treaty hastily agreed upon, after the juggled

campaign, by no means suited the ampler views of Napoleon, who had designed a military occupation of Portugal, whereas its integrity had been agreed to by Spain. He ordered a wholesale disbandment of Spanish militia, and the march of a number of regular regiments from the Pyrenees to watch Gibraltar. As Spain's men-of-war were found to be worthless, he increased the amount of her subsidy; he made use of her also as a medium for enforcing payments from Portugal.

Nor did Napoleon by any means confine himself to the larger measures of State policy. When he finds that he is being thwarted by the Prince of the Peace, he thunders against him to the King and Queen, threatening to withdraw his support and friendship unless they discard their worthless favourite, and pointing out that he has already lost to them Trinidad and will certainly lead them towards more disastrous calamities. Charles fell ill; it was contrived that his eldest son, the Prince of the Asturias, should be kept in a state of alarm by rumours that there was a plot on foot for the establishment, in the event of death, of a Regency consisting of the Queen and Godoy; that the latter even aspired to the crown for himself; and that the sick King was being subjected to secret evil influences, in view of his leaving behind him a testament adverse to Ferdinand's legitimate rights. This embroilment, some writers asseverate, was the work of Napoleon.

Of such-like rumours, of intrigues and cabals, Madrid during the Peace of Amiens was a hotbed. Godoy's unbecoming rise to power, merely the royal favour he enjoyed, was quite sufficient to expose him to feelings of malignity: this and his reprehensible position in relation to the Queen, though viewed by the King with a complacency altogether difficult to understand, had strengthened greatly a party of opposition for some time gathering round the heir-apparent, Ferdinand, who, unnatural as it may seem, had become an object of intense detestation to his mother—a feeling which the Prince and his wife as bitterly returned. To this opposition attached themselves a majority of the noble and higher classes as well as of the clergy: amongst the latter was Escoiquiz, an ambitious, scheming prelate.

While these animosities and wranglings were distracting the Royal House of Spain, and, as may be said, opening to Napoleon the roads to Madrid, he was consolidating his power upon the Continent and most carefully maturing his plans against England, towards which he intended and insisted that Spain should contribute to the uttermost of her resources. His brother Lucien

had been working assiduously at Madrid, and an army corps assembled at Bayonne; in 1803 the subsidy was increased. But the preparations which, under French compulsion, went forward in the ports and arsenals of Spain led to suspicions, followed by remonstrances, on the part of Great Britain. The two Powers were already on the verge of hostilities when, in October, 1804, an unwarrantable seizure of some Spanish treasure ships on their homeward voyage led to the actual rupture.

A first consequence of open warfare was the usual blockade of Cadiz and other important Spanish ports. This was the attitude early in 1805, the year which witnessed the fullest development of Napoleon's vast and far-reaching designs for the invasion of Great Britain—the year of Trafalgar. In briefest outline his plan was to divert the attention of his adversary's Admirals from the Straits of Dover. Master of that for six hours, he was to be master of the world. The main scheme shaped itself into a junction of French and Spanish men-of-war in the West Indies. Returning, this force was to add largely to its numbers as homeward bound it passed Ferrol, Rochefort, and Brest, thus giving such a superiority in the vicinity of Boulogne as would ensure to the French the passage across of the immense army there collected. Spain had undertaken, at the outset of the war, to furnish not less than twenty-five ships of the line and eleven frigates. Of the force which duly effected the passage to the West Indies, five sail of the line were Spanish under Admiral Gravina. The French Admiral, Villeneuve, commanded in chief.

As to deceiving Nelson and leaving him behind in the West Indies, so far all went well. All else miscarried. For when the Franco-Spanish fleet was yet one hundred and fifty miles or so from Ferrol, it found itself opposed by a fleet under Sir R. Calder. An engagement on July 22nd, in a somewhat thick fog, followed; conditions which led to certain of the vessels on either side having to bear the brunt of the cannonading, while others escaped without loss at all. Two of the Spanish men-of-war captured and one of the British disabled sums up the result of a fight which, though the hostile fleets remained two more days in sight of each other, was not further pressed. They parted: a procedure that gave rise to no small amount of controversy, as well as to a court-martial on the British Admiral, who, it is but fair to his adversaries to state, was severely reprimanded for not having brought about a renewal of the combat.

In forming an estimate of the relative value, at that period, of Spanish ships and seamen, it may be remembered that Nelson, when in the West Indies, after he had ascertained the numbers of the allied fleet, assembled his captains and said to them, in view of the encounter, "Do you take a Frenchmen apiece, and leave *all* the Spaniards to me." Napoleon was scarcely more complimentary; for, in his general instructions to Villeneuve, as to computing the probabilities of victory, we find him laying it down that two Spanish men-of-war are to be reckoned always as equivalent to one only of either of the other nations.

Calder's defence of the Channel, however, or perhaps more correctly speaking the subsequent line of conduct followed by Villeneuve, dislocated the whole plan of invading England. The French Admiral, after parting from his adversary, refitted in Vigo and adjacent ports, whence he sailed, not northwards for the scene of the projected crossing, but southwards: about a month after his exchange of shots with Calder he entered Cadiz. At this direct disobedience of orders, as he chose to regard it, Napoleon was angered beyond measure, and somewhat later decided upon superseding Villeneuve. As it fell out this did not take place, and on October 20th, with a total of thirty-three sail of the line, to which Spain contributed fifteen under Admiral Gravina, he quitted Cadiz destined to encounter in world-renowned combat Nelson, who was off the coast with a fleet somewhat less powerful.

Of the battle of Trafalgar itself, it may suffice to take up the narrative from the point where, on the following day, Villeneuve was heading for Cadiz in view of finding there a safe harbourage should he be defeated. His long line was moving in somewhat irregular fashion, with the vessels two abreast, or three in some instances. Into this line Nelson sailed in two columns, striking it about the centre. To describe the battle further would be to detail the combats of individual ships, almost motionless from the lightness of the wind, and enshrouded in smoke upon a nearly calm sea. The main result of the encounter as it concerns this history was that, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, on firing ceasing, of the eighteen battle-ships which had been captured or destroyed by the British, one-half were Spanish. The remaining six escaped to Cadiz.

The news of this disastrous sea-fight reached Napoleon as he was crowning a succession of brilliant victories by the overthrow of a combined Austrian and Russian army at Austerlitz. Less than a year later he humbled the military power of Prussia upon

the no less ruinous field of Jena. On that occasion, too, he received intelligence from Spain, laughable, however, rather than disquieting. It was, in brief, to the effect that Spain meditated an invasion of France, and that the leading spirit in the movement was Godoy. The exaltation of this strangely appointed minister, and his no less singular position of familiarity within the Courtly circle, have been touched upon. He was by this time very generally detested by the country at large. Nor could this well be otherwise. Under his rule Spain had been defeated upon land as well as, hopelessly so, upon the sea. She had fallen under the most humiliating servitude to France. Godoy had behaved treacherously to Portugal. His bearing during the war of 1801 and his discomfiture arising from the act of folly we are now considering, might, it is no exaggeration to say, be transferred direct to the stage as comic opera.

It would require, then, a pleader of more than ordinary ingenuity to exhibit Godoy as a successful statesman. Before, however, he disappears from the scene, as presently happens, it is but fair to state that his administration bears many traces of praiseworthy attempts for the amelioration of his country. Considering how troublous were the times, he did much to give an impulse to public works. Many colleges and schools advanced considerably in utility. Science was less neglected than hitherto, art and literature were encouraged. He endeavoured to abolish the Inquisition, and did not hesitate to oppose all blind submission to Rome. No small amount of the rash judgment and bitter abuse to which he was subjected arose from his protesting against the undue dominance of nobles and clergy. He even denounced the cruelty of the ever-fascinating bull-fights. As to the scandalous life he led within the palace, should not the clamour have been directed rather against a Queen who, heart and soul, persisted that Godoy should be her lover, or against a King who, in a no less infatuated manner, could see no fault in his favourite?

Perhaps a desire to bring about a change in this unmistakable unpopularity prompted Godoy to his grave indiscretion of 1806, which his enemies stigmatised as a mere silly outburst in a brain indulging itself in fancy flights as to its powers of achievement. There was, however, a hoped-for combination with Great Britain, Russia, and Portugal. The occasion seemed favourable while so large a portion of the army of France was engaged far east of the Rhine. Enough that there was issued,

bearing the signature of the Prince of the Peace, a proclamation tantamount to calling the whole Spanish nation to arms. No enemy was specified, but the aim in view was patent to all. As to Napoleon, he already knew through his agents that Godoy was plotting: the actual proclamation was placed in his hands when he was occupying the palace of the great Frederick at Berlin.

Explanations were of course immediately demanded from the Court of Madrid, which in no small alarm essayed to wash its hands of the ill-timed document. It was disclaimed as having been issued without authority: it was, in fact, a forgery. Any recent additions to Spanish armaments, it was explained, had been made with a view to strengthening the position of the Emperor against his enemies in general, and, of course, against England in chief. Finally, after Godoy had been obliged to eat no small amount of humble pie in private, Napoleon was pleased to be satisfied with the fiction that Spain had been suddenly struck with alarm, and obliged to see to its resources in men and horses, owing to a threatened invasion by the Emperor of Morocco.

Closely following Jena there was issued by Napoleon his Berlin Decree, which in sum aimed at excluding British subjects and merchandise entirely from the rest of Europe. Spain, it has been seen, was pliant enough; Portugal, on the contrary, was unwilling as ever to quarrel with a country known to be as serviceable in friendship as formidable in antagonism. In August, 1807, an ultimatum from Paris, in unmistakable terms, was delivered at Lisbon. Portugal must at once declare war against Great Britain; must close her ports to every description of commerce with that country; lay hands upon all British subjects and merchandise within reach; and finally add her ships of war to the general confederacy against the common enemy. Spain echoed the conditions of this menacing document, and soon signed with France a further agreement which fell little short of a design to efface Portugal from the map of Europe. This infamous project of spoliation, known as the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and directed against a small country whose main object was to preserve neutrality and its existing foreign commerce, stipulated: that Charles Louis, the son and successor to the King of Etruria, now dead, whose elevation to regal rank has been referred to, was to have a slice out of Northern Portugal as compensation for his Italian kingdom, now about to be numbered with the things of the past; that the

Prince of the Peace was to be rewarded for his services by a huge cut from the south of Portugal; and that the rest of it, including the capital, was to be annexed temporarily and administered by France until the occurrence of a general peace, when it was to be disposed of according to circumstances, possibly given back to the House of Braganza in exchange for the restoration to Spain of Gibraltar, or of Trinidad and the other later conquests which had been made by Great Britain.

Two episodes in the military history of the Peninsula may fitly here be noticed. Godoy's invasion fiasco had brought him to a state of abject, trembling anxiety that every amends should be made to Napoleon, who accordingly exacted that a force, sixteen thousand strong, of Spain's most efficient soldiers should be marched out of the country and placed at his disposal in the North of Europe. They were joined by six thousand of their countrymen who had before been despatched to Tuscany. Of these a large body, when in quarters upon the shores of the Baltic, effected its escape in an adventurous manner, in time to serve under Sir John Moore. During 1808 a Portuguese force was similarly treated as to expatriation. From the nine thousand, however, who commenced the march towards the north, numbers absconded. A considerable portion, which adhered to the fortunes of Napoleon, campaigned under him in Germany, Russia, France, and even in Spain. Finally a relict of these men fought for him at Waterloo.

To France's stern ultimatum Portugal's reply was to the effect that, while willing to close her ports in the manner demanded, she must refuse to seize upon British subjects or property. This answer was given with the concurrence of Great Britain, whose ambassador offered the Royal Family every assistance towards transferring its fortunes, as now seriously contemplated, to Brazil. A fleet under Sir Sidney Smith was at this moment in the Tagus. Probably the most humble submission would not now have averted the full occupation of the Peninsula by French troops, a measure which had doubtless been revolved in all its bearings by Napoleon, and which was already foreshadowed by the existence of an army of observation, as it was termed, at Bordeaux. Supplementary to the Treaty of Fontainebleau, there had been signed a secret convention, stipulating that a French army corps, twenty-eight thousand strong, exclusive of its accompanying artillery, was to cross the frontier, backed, in case Great Britain should interfere, by forty thousand men held in reserve at Bayonne. The various

Spanish army corps, their strength and the provinces they were to occupy, were likewise set forth in full detail.

Junot, an officer who had successfully commended himself to Napoleon, and had already been ambassador at Lisbon, was appointed to command this army of invasion, which, as a matter of fact, commenced passing into Spain some days before the signing of the above compacts. His chief mandate was precise: he was, without an hour's unnecessary halting, to march for the Portuguese capital; an order which he carried out regardless of all consequences. To press ahead and seize the Royal Family, as well as the Portuguese fleet, were his main aims. Bad roads had been rendered worse by an almost incessant downpour of rain. Spanish officials showed none of the energy necessary for gathering supplies at a rate to keep pace with the rapidity of the French marches; many a night was passed in bivouac without the means of lighting a fire; in some of the regiments the majority of the soldiers were mere lads; men fell out by the score; dead horses were to be seen everywere upon the line of route. Within Portuguese territory, which was entered on November 19, 1807, the disorders became more glaring still: compulsion and marauding were resorted to, followed by reprisals and bloodshed. Hence the general appearance of the invading column was much rather that of beaten troops in retreat than of an army corps despatched by the supreme military Power of Europe; and had there arisen amongst the Portuguese any such outburst of animosity as afterwards inflamed Spain, this hurrying straggling force must have ceased to exist as a fighting body.

Fortunately for Junot, the measure of his temerity found an equal in the supineness of the Portuguese Court. The Prince Regent was not one whit more fitted to face desperate emergencies than his Spanish father-in-law. Owing to ill-health his education had been neglected; he was still subject to fits of giddiness; his most frequent condition was one of apathy and melancholy. The religion to which he was so devotedly attached, especially its ceremonials, a High Mass or a Te Deum, the position of a sacred banner in a Saint's Day procession, cassocks and tapers, occupied his mind rather than the affairs of State. Suspicion and mistrust were usually at work when he received in council his advisers, at this time ranged into a French party and an English one. The former urged him to throw himself unreservedly into the hands of Napoleon; the other, while willing to render assistance, considered it on the

whole advisable to place the Royal Family and the fleet beyond the clutches of the invader.

The latter's rapidity of advance, fatal as it might have been, served him well in one respect. No action was taken towards opposing him, except some insignificant attempts at fortifying the capital, where indeed the news of his having invaded the kingdom did not arrive until he was at Abrantes, about half-way from the point at which he had quitted Spanish territory. On the same day came to hand from Paris the *Moniteur*, containing Napoleon's memorable fiat dictating the downfall of the House of Braganza. At first a hopeless confusion and despair had place in the royal palaces ; but plainly some line of action had to be decided upon ; contention and hesitation must end ; another week would bring Junot to the gates of Lisbon. The resolution come to by the Court has been variously judged : it was, in short, to sail at once for Brazil. Accordingly, in a few days the Queen, in a pitiable state wavering between sanity and lunacy, accompanied by her son the Prince Regent and other members of the Royal Family, together with several thousand men, women, and children of various classes, were already embarked or were hurrying to do so. In addition to the Portuguese fleet in the Tagus, the British one under Sir Sidney Smith was still there ; and so convoyed, this multitude of emigrants were bidding a sad farewell to their native land just as, on November 30, 1807, the French advance guard was taking possession of the capital.

There was no opposition, no bloodshed, though the streets were full of disbanded soldiers, and though Junot, in his anger at the Royal Family having escaped him, fired several rounds from a Portuguese battery at the last of the receding transports. A desponding apathy seemed to possess the populace, but was soon succeeded by a disposition to regard the departed Court as a body of spiritless runaways who were no particular loss to the country ; a feeling which facilitated matters for Junot most luckily, as he had for some time at command a mere handful of infantry, unsupported either by guns or cavalry. He was thus able, as the scattered fragments of his army arrived upon the scene, ragged, begrimed, and footsore, to quarter them without hindrance in the principal forts and convents, to obtain a forced loan of £200,000, to carry out the confiscation of all English property, to deprive of arms the civil population, and in due course to dissolve the Regency which had been appointed when the flight of the Court had been determined upon.

Simultaneously with this last-mentioned high-handed act, he produced a proclamation tantamount, in short, to annexation. It was issued by Napoleon, and appointed Junot to be Governor not merely of the central territory, as stipulated in the Fontainebleau treaty, but of the whole kingdom; thus dispelling Godoy's fond visions of a principality, as well as the expectations of the already twice despoiled House of Parma. A sum of £4,000,000 was to be paid by the invaded country, while everything belonging to the royal exiles, and to those who had thrown in their lot with them, was to be considered as forfeited. The appropriation, already referred to, of Portuguese troops for service beyond the limits of their own country was announced at the same time. Later, as the people became agitated under the French occupation, Junot purposely disorganised or altogether disbanded the remaining military forces.

Thus, not only was Portugal in the clutches of Napoleon, but, as large additional bodies of French troops had followed the stipulated numbers across the Pyrenees, nearly equally was Spain at his mercy. Moreover, certain acts of the Royal Family and of the chief personages in their confidence were affording him every opening for dealing with them as suited his purposes. It has been seen that the two main discordant parties at Court had at their head the King and Queen on one side and Ferdinand, their eldest son, on the other. Each of these, as represented respectively by Godoy and by Escoiquiz, had been in secret communication with the envoys of Napoleon for some time before the actual invasion of Portugal. Godoy was actuated largely by personal motives: amidst hopes and fears he clung to the aspiration of obtaining for himself some independent principality, on the dismemberment of the Peninsula, which he believed to be inevitable. Escoiquiz was heart and soul intent upon the subversion of Godoy and all his influences.

But the idol of the King and Queen was not likely to be shattered except by some strong arm such as that of the French Emperor. At the same time, it was seen, there was one way by which the latter's full partisanship might be secured in favour of Ferdinand. This Prince had been a widower since May, 1806, and his marriage with some near relation of Napoleon would at least conduce towards the desired end. Accordingly he was persuaded to submit his case in a letter which, after referring to the praiseworthy qualities of the Emperor, and touching upon the guilty intimacy of his own mother with Godoy, ended

by humbly soliciting the honour of a marriage alliance with the distinguished ruler of France.

This letter was despatched unknown to the King. Before an answer could be received the Escurial was the scene of some startling events. The Prince was suddenly surprised in his quarters by a visit from his father, his papers were seized and he was placed under arrest. Investigation disclosed that the misguided son had at least been anticipating the death or deposition of his father. In his own writing was a document appointing the Duke del Infantado to be Governor-General of New Castile. Most of the other papers were plainly from the pen of Escoiquiz; they consisted of censures and charges in respect to the Prince of the Peace, who was accused of a variety of criminal monstrosities, including that of aiming at the Crown for himself by making away with the King. The desirability of a marriage with a member of the Bonaparte family was also set forth.

The next act in a singularly ill-judged procedure was the issue of a proclamation by the King announcing that his son and heir had been plotting against the life and throne of His Majesty, that the accused had been placed under arrest, and that his guilty associates would forthwith be put upon their trial. On the same day Charles wrote to Napoleon detailing the discovery of the conspiracy; he added that it embraced designs on the life of the Queen, and that a just punishment ought to include a forfeiture by the heir-apparent of his right by birth to wear the crown of Spain. The letter concluded by supplicating the aid of the Emperor's wisdom and guidance. The Prince now suddenly threw himself upon the mercy of his parents, making a general confession of sin and disclosing the names of his colleagues. His letters both to the King and Queen were most dutiful and submissive; accordingly he received a full pardon, and a decree to this effect was published. The trial of the others implicated resulted in no severer sentences than of temporary confinement or exile; the majority were acquitted.

The above is a short narrative of what undoubtedly occurred. But this singular "Affair of the Escurial" has been told with many variations. It has been stated that amongst the documents first seized were some so glaringly incriminating that the Queen—her hatred against her son changed for the moment to fear at his perilous position—destroyed them on the spot. By others it has been contended that the whole affair was concocted by Godoy, who made a free use of forgery to further his base

ends. Between these extremes lies a wide space, which has been filled with invention, conjecture, and partisan controversy, needless here to sift, but all contributing to the sorry spectacle of Charles more feeble and easily led by his Queen than ever, of Godoy blameless in their eyes, and of Ferdinand, idolised by the nation, throwing over his friends in council as soon as self-interest prompted the deed.

The affair came to a head about a month before Junot's entry into Lisbon. As to these plottings and counter-plottings, Napoleon professed that they were of no concern to him. Yet he certainly did not allow matters to take a chance course regarding the military occupation of Spain. During the early part of 1808, by cajoling, by hectoring, or by downright treachery, commanders of French forces obtained possession of Pamplona, Barcelona, Figueras, and San Sebastian. The details, too lengthy to be given here, of these seizures exhibit a confidence simply marvellous in the assurances of Napoleon's Generals and agents: that such measures were merely strategical; that the ultimate objects of such large forces were the recovery of Gibraltar and the safeguarding of Ceuta; that prosperity to the country and freedom from the evil influences of Godoy and of England must everywhere follow the footsteps of these incoming legions. The "strategical" occupations of Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the Rhine Provinces were apparently forgotten chapters of history; the ominous events passing in the sister kingdom aroused barely a note of warning.

At last the Court began to open its eyes, but scarcely before it had received the startling intimation that Napoleon designed the annexation to France of Spain north of the Ebro; he in exchange was to hand over Portugal to Spain. Godoy, thoroughly alarmed, his expectations shattered, now vehemently urged a project already discussed, namely, that the example given by the Royal Family of Portugal should be followed. His advice was acted upon. The King and Queen were at Aranjuez, which they decided to quit secretly for Seville, thus placing themselves on the highway to Cadiz or Gibraltar, whence a shipment for one of their American possessions would be easy. But the design became noised abroad; the inhabitants of the place began to work themselves into a ferment regarding it, and soon it was seen that the departure would not take place without tumultuous proceedings of some sort. Possibly no particular irritation would have manifested itself at the disappearance of the Sovereigns alone;

but it was understood that they were to be accompanied by Ferdinand, whom the people persisted in regarding as a model of all excellence, an ill-treated son, the victim of the hated Godoy, the coming saviour of the country.

With the arrival at the palace of the carriages prepared for the journey mob fury burst forth. The traces were cut and the mules led off. So ended that project. Then the residence of the Prince of the Peace was violently broken into: his guards made little attempt to defend it, and had he that night fallen into the hands of the rioters small doubt that short would have been his shrift. As it was, he had time to make for a garret, where he remained hidden under some bulrush matting, uncomfortable enough, for a day and a half, when he was captured in the more fortunate circumstances that he obtained the chance protection of some soldiers. Nevertheless, he received a terrible cudgelling before he found a safe lodgment within the walls of a barrack. A few hours afterwards—March 19th—Madrid was startled by the intelligence that Charles had abdicated, and that his son had been proclaimed as Ferdinand VII. Five days later the new King publicly entered his capital amidst the wildest manifestations of joy and welcome on the part of the populace. Already into that capital had marched a division of French troops, including a portion of the Imperial Guard. It was commanded by Murat, originally a private soldier, now brother-in-law to Napoleon, soon to become a king, and destined in the end to face death in front of the muskets of a firing-party of soldiers whose Sovereign he had been. Ferdinand's first experience of his illustrious guest was a refusal to recognise his right to a crown which Murat is generally credited with having aimed at placing on his own head. The situation became further complicated by Charles, two days after his abdication, having written to Napoleon stating that he was driven to the act by the fears and perils which at that moment encompassed him and his Queen; though the letters of their Majesties about this period indicate that they held safety and protection for Godoy much nearer to heart than anything else.

On one point, at all events, according to the French advisers of Ferdinand, there was no room for doubt. The Emperor would soon be on his way to Madrid; preparations were already, everywhere along the route, in a forward state for his reception: what more fitting than that Ferdinand should journey forth and welcome him? Such courtesy must at least favourably impress the powerful ruler for whom the Prince had in writing ex-

pressed an admiration so unbounded. A good understanding, recognition as Sovereign, the hoped-for bride must in turn follow. Accordingly, having been preceded by some days by his brother, Don Carlos, Ferdinand, accompanied by a small retinue, set out on the 10th of April. Burgos had been suggested as a suitable halting place for the welcome; French troops were there ample enough, but no Emperor, and, as far as could be ascertained, His Majesty had not yet quitted France.

Should Ferdinand proceed? As two-thirds of the journey towards the frontier had now been traversed, some of his suite were for there staying progress; others were of a different opinion, while Savary, who represented Napoleon, was so profuse in assurances as to his master's benevolent intentions that the journey was continued to Vitoria. Here again no Emperor, but an interchange of letters now took place; that received by Ferdinand, if somewhat censorious as to the Aranjuez tumults, was trust-inviting and full of promise. Bayonne reached, Ferdinand was at once visited by Napoleon, who occupied a château in the neighbourhood. Greetings and embracings of the most cordial description took place; later in the day Imperial carriages were sent to convey the honoured guests to dinner. That meal at an end, and Ferdinand having returned to his quarters in the town, Savary sought an interview and disclosed the fact that Napoleon had decreed the dethronement of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. Not merely was the deluded victim crownless: a guard of French soldiers had orders to keep a strict watch upon all the doings of the brothers.

Towards Ferdinand, ill-advised in counsel, enticed to a pitfall by Napoleon, much sympathy may be extended. Little enough towards Charles; for, in truth, those Chinese officials who, with foreheads bowed to the ground, crawl upon their hands and knees into the celestial presence, scarcely abase themselves lower than at this juncture Charles did to Napoleon, as he lent a willing ear to the advice that he would do well to come and submit his case to the Emperor at Bayonne. The Queen, constant as ever to "our dear Manuel," as she calls Godoy in her letters, was no less ready for the journey, especially as the ex-minister had already preceded them in that direction. Some difficulty had presented itself in his case, for the rabble of Madrid were anxiously awaiting the day when he would be seen dangling from a scaffold. Napoleon, however, demanding it, and Murat no less peremptorily insisting upon it, Godoy was despatched to the frontier under French escort.

In Madrid there still remained Don Francisco and the widowed Queen of Etruria, children of King Charles, also his brother, Don Antonio. It was now insisted by Murat that the two former must follow their father to Bayonne. Their departing gave rise to a scene of excitement such as the one at Aranjuez, but leading quickly to an exasperated struggle between French and Spanish, succeeded by a cold-blooded carnage. A fuller detail of this conflict will be given presently; meantime attention is claimed by events at Bayonne, where all the members of the Royal Family were finally collected. Ferdinand, after hearing his doom pronounced, was naturally enough aghast at the iniquity of the whole procedure. Escoiquiz and others attached to the cause of the captive exhausted argument, where none was required, to demonstrate this to the Emperor. Once again in actual history have we the scene at the stream, in the fable, between the wolf and the lamb.

With the arrival of the King and the Queen decorum was thrown aside. At one conference while the father denounced the worthlessness and ingratitude of his son, the mother assailed him with gesticulations so menacing and abuse so foul-mouthed that even Napoleon has been represented as taken aback at the scene to which he was a witness. The qualm could have been but a passing one if the statement, repeated over and over again, is to be credited, that he himself on another occasion threatened Ferdinand to his face with death, unless he consented to renounce all claim to the throne. Assailed and brow-beaten by such enemies, Ferdinand gave way by restoring the crown to his father, who humbly placed it at the disposal of the great Emperor. The latter, as a matter of fact, had some time before offered it to his brother Louis, King of Holland, by whom it was refused. Joseph, King of Naples, then unwillingly accepted it.

In this manner suffered eclipse and passed into exile the Royal Family of Spain. Ferdinand, and that brother known to history as the Don Carlos of a quarter of a century later, together with their uncle, Don Antonio, were placed in confinement at Valençay, a château the property of Talleyrand, who now lies in his grave close by. Here the Princes remained until released by Napoleon, not long before his abdication in 1814. Charles and his Queen never set foot in their country again; they were placed at Compiègne in a mild captivity which they had no desire to quit; afterwards they moved to

Rome, where they both died. Throughout was maintained the cordiality of both with Godoy, who was their constant companion, and who after their deaths published a defence, much needed, it may be said, of his State administration. Nevertheless, if a King and Queen select as confidential adviser a young man of twenty-three, for no other reason but his personal appearance; if they load him with unmerited honours, even to the length of placing in his hands the reins of government, upon whom should judgment fall when a hopeless collapse occurs?

When Godoy found himself responsible for the welfare of Spain, though Charles III. had effected much, the country had for centuries been upon a downward course. Godoy not only proved altogether incapable of staying the descent, he wound up a series of transgressions by facilitating the entry of French troops into the Peninsula. Even so, had Godoy never been born, the subjugation of the country would no doubt, after Tilsit, have been forcibly attempted. Had the confiding journeys to Bayonne not been so easily brought about, Murat, Savary, Beauharnais, or others of their stamp, would probably have been found enticing the Royal Family towards effacement. Whatever the way of their exit, a Bonaparte would have been seen upon the high-road to the capital to assume the crown. Napoleon's partisans have defended his measures as necessary to the safety of his own menaced throne, and as manifestly bringing in their train liberty, enlightenment, and that good government which Spain so sorely needed: they give, in short, any reason but the true one, namely, that a passion for conquest and dominion was clouding the clear eye of his genius.

CHAPTER III

THE PENINSULAR WAR

IT has been briefly mentioned that the departure from Madrid, on the 2nd of May, 1808, of the last members of the Spanish Royal Family gave rise to a sanguinary tumult in that city. There were other reasons for an excited condition amongst the people. The treacherous proceedings in regard to the fortresses were becoming more fully known. The humiliating environments of the situation at Bayonne were being keenly felt by a proud people. Their precious Ferdinand might never be restored to them and to a kingdom ready under him to rise again from its ashes. The black deeds of the villainous Godoy would probably pass unpunished. Of the millennium promised by the Emperor, the only visible signs were eighty thousand arrogant French troops living exactingly at free quarters. So chafing, the populace, on the morning fixed for the departure, surrounded with menaces the royal carriages at the palace. An aide-de-camp of Murat happened to ride up: he was set upon and his life only saved by the chance passing of a patrol of his men. A wild tumult now spread rapidly through the streets, where many French soldiers, singly or in small bodies, were assassinated. Avenging artillery soon galloped up and opened with terrible effect upon the dense masses surging around. The rioters then, by breaking into an artillery barrack, put themselves in possession both of guns and a supply of small arms. After a few hours, however, the superior resources and discipline of the French had quelled the rising; some of the city officials had materially aided them, and the Spanish troops had remained at quarters as ordered.

So far occurrences are agreed upon as matter of fact. Not so what followed: Murat has it laid to his charge, if the extreme accounts are to be accepted, that a wholesale slaughter of prisoners commenced almost at once, when officers and men

alike amongst the French were inflamed by vindictive passions; that practically no attempt was made to discriminate between guilty insurgents and the general crowd; that the victims were led forth to the shambles in batches, without any access allowed to them by their priests; and that, adding to the general horror, the volleys despatching the unfortunate men were heard far into the night, striking anguish into the hearts of all who had relations or friends still missing. On the other hand, there are versions of this tragedy much less horrible. What is material is that it was in its most ghastly aspect that the story was circulated and found credence throughout the country. The growing estrangement between French and Spaniards quickly became a fierce hatred. From Madrid there arose a cry for vengeance, echoing to the farthest corners of the land. There had flashed the first lightning of the gathering storm which was to rage, with scarcely a pause, for six long years. On this 2nd of May may be said to have commenced the Peninsular War in its wider meaning—that of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal allied against France.

A few days ago, in the eyes of Europe, dismayed at the latest master-stroke of Napoleon's perfidy, Spain and Portugal were but as captives in his vast triumphal procession. Their Sovereigns were dethroned; both capitals, many strongholds, the main lines of communication were held by the French. Neither of the occupied countries had any military establishment worthy of the name, in comparison with the vast army at the disposal of the Emperor. Now suddenly, from Pyrenean snows to the waves of the Mediterranean, Spain rose up in arms against her invaders. The bloodthirsty passions, evoked in the streets of Madrid, had their counterpart in nearly every important city in the land. French residents and scattered bodies of troops were the first victims. Governors of towns and other Spaniards in authority who attempted to curb the reckless feeling, or were regarded as lukewarm, quickly found their lives in peril. Several were assassinated. Priests from their pulpits threw a halo of righteousness around the cause, and in many instances, Cross in hand, led the way to the worst deeds of violence. While the flames were thus spreading, and the French becoming aware that it might be impossible to stamp them out, an assembly of Spanish Notables, as they were termed, tendered the Crown at Bayonne to Napoleon's brother Joseph. He accepted it and was afterwards proclaimed King at Madrid, which he entered on the 20th of July.

In less than a fortnight he found himself compelled to quit it; for the spontaneous uprising of the Spanish people had altogether disjointed the French occupation. Where the forces of the two nations came into collision upon a field offering scope for the superior military attributes and leadership of the invaders, the result was scarcely likely to be doubtful. Rio Seco, fought on July 14th, the chief battle of this early period, was of the above description, and for a time scattered all opposition in the north-west, the district of which it was the centre. The warfare, however, as far as the bulk of the Spanish nation was concerned, assumed a different character. A most determined system of guerilla warfare after a while sprang into existence. It may be said that every Spaniard had taken up arms. A mountainous country was again to prove a ready graveyard to an army of invasion. Supplies were withheld from the French, their foraging parties were easily frustrated or cut up, while every village produced from its store for any chance band of armed peasants. To a French body of troops defeat frequently meant extermination; for scant mercy was shown to prisoners, especially as the invaders themselves had, early in the operations, put to death, after a fair fight, the leaders who were opposed to them.

Towards the end of three months—May, June, and July—of this desultory warfare a most humiliating reverse befell the French arms. Dupont had penetrated with his army corps far to the south of the Peninsula—nearly to Seville. He then considered it advisable to retrace his steps; whereupon he found his movements enveloped by swarms of armed peasants, and it was by the attacks of these, quite as much as by regular Spanish troops, that he found himself obliged to surrender at Baylen, where some 20,000 French soldiers laid down their arms. A failure of the invaders before Valencia was also attributable, in a large measure, to undisciplined levies of this class. Saragossa, too, now unmistakably brought home to the French that their enemies—at all events in the defence of a town—were not one whit less daring than themselves. By this time, the end of July, many other of the larger cities had repelled or driven out the invaders, thus further deranging the military combinations of their commanders. On the last day of the month King Joseph and his army had retired from Madrid, intent upon establishing themselves behind the Ebro.

Another heavy blow was presently dealt at the French occupation. Before entering upon this may be noticed such

government, apart from King Joseph's, as Spain could be said to have in these early days of the war. Together with the impulse to draw the sword against the invaders there had sprung into existence, in the cities and elsewhere, Juntas, or local governing bodies. In every commotion which has agitated modern Spain the Junta has played a prominent part. Those which now constituted themselves had, as their first important duty, the arming of the people and their organisation as a fighting force. They decided the strength of the levies, and took measures for collecting and distributing supplies. Such bodies of men, animated by a genuine patriotic spirit, and subordinating all petty differences to the main object of driving the French out of the country, were capable of becoming towers of strength throughout the land.

Unfortunately very few Spaniards indeed had the knowledge, experience, or even the temperament fitting them for the work in hand. During the first eagerness of an appeal to arms the members of the Juntas had in many cases been chosen without regard to social position. The starched hidalgo found himself at the same council table as the village artisan. In addition to internal dissensions, springing from many sources, it frequently happened that neighbouring Juntas had conflicting interests. Plainly there was an absolute necessity for some paramount executive power. Thus the Junta of Seville was assented to as "Central" or, as it styled itself, "Supreme"; though many of the provincial Juntas refused to acknowledge its authority. It is to be noted that there was no disposition to change the form of government from a monarchy: the Juntas considered themselves as acting under the absent Ferdinand, and not uncommonly at their deliberations a vacant chair was so placed as to represent him.

Portugal, we have seen, had been rapidly overrun by the French. No less quickly had the fierce ebullition in Spain, following the bloodshed of May 2nd, swept across the border. But there it met with little corresponding success. Junot's action was prompt: he disarmed five thousand Spanish troops quartered in Lisbon, and despatched to the chief centres of disturbance forces which decisively asserted the superior fighting qualities of his soldiers. But a fourth nation now entered the arena. In England the news that the Spanish nation had definitely thrown down the gauntlet to France was received with unbounded satisfaction. Great Britain and Spain were still at war in May, though the contention was confining itself

chiefly to a blockade of the coast. Early in June there arrived in London, from the Asturias, a deputation which formally asked for assistance, and which was welcomed with marked distinction. The blockade was raised; the gold and rich resources of Spanish America again came safely to hand; the insurrections fomenting in that country no longer obtained countenance; the troops in the Balearic Isles were free to act elsewhere, and seven French men-of-war in the harbour of Cadiz, unwilling to try conclusions with the British fleet outside, surrendered. During the same week that Joseph was falling back with his army from Madrid to the Ebro, thirteen thousand British soldiers were being landed in Portugal, at Mondego Bay.

Yet it was with the greatest difficulty that any plan of co-operation could be agreed upon. The Portuguese leaders—not unnaturally, perhaps—were unable to dispossess their minds of fabulous conceptions as to the power and invincibility of the French: at the same time they had but little faith in the prowess or resources of the British. Jealousy was by no means absent, and it will scarcely be credited that the Portuguese maintained that they ought to be rationed by the British, who had, of course, but their ships' stores to depend upon. Thus, it was only after much persuasion that Sir Arthur Wellesley, who commanded the British, obtained to assist him at his first battle, Roliça, on August 17th, two thousand Portuguese from an available corps more than three times that strength.

Fortunately it was a victory, and on the high-road to the capital. Another at Vimiera, four days later, was followed by the Convention of Cintra, a transaction which gave rise to the wildest controversy. Under its provisions the French entirely evacuated Portugal. In these successes the Portuguese troops had little share: it so happened that on both occasions they were barely in the fighting line. On closing this first section of the war, with the French holding only the north-east corner of the Peninsula, it is to be remembered that before the Portuguese Royal Family sailed for Brazil, provision had been made for a Council of Regency, which Junot quickly suppressed. Now, on the departure of the French, it was reconstituted, after a Junta at Oporto under the Bishop of that town had unsuccessfully attempted to assume supreme government.

These serious reverses experienced by the French plainly gave the Emperor no choice but to march a vast retrieving army into the Peninsula. Many of the brigades despatched

earlier had been filled from young soldiers left in the depôts, while the extended eastern boundaries of the Empire were being guarded by the main body of the immense force then under arms. From this Napoleon now drew so largely that, on the opening of what may be termed the Corunna Campaign, in the late autumn of 1808, a host not far short of three hundred thousand men were within or being moved towards the theatre of operations. While these formidable columns, containing many soldiers who had shared in the glories of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, were marching continuously forward, and the Emperor was on his way to assume personal command, the Spanish authorities did little else but indulge in bombast at their recent exploits, quarrel childishly over points of precedence, or misappropriate the treasure which England was so lavishly pouring into the country.

Napoleon's grasp of the situation, his quickness to strike, seconded by the ardour and quality of the troops composing this fresh army of invasion, at once became manifest. He arrived at Bayonne early in November. By the end of that month one of his divisions had mastered almost the whole northern coastland which abuts upon the Bay of Biscay, a mountainous, intricate country, capable from its character and that of its inhabitants of a much more fierce opposition than it offered. Another main division had broken up the feeble and faulty line of defence upon the Ebro, and cleared the front eastwards as far as Saragossa. Other strong columns had pushed through Burgos and Palencia for Valladolid, flanked by immense bodies of cavalry sweeping resistlessly across the wide plains of Leon and Castile, which lie on either side of this chosen highway of advance. Everywhere the Spanish forces were being rapidly broken up by defeats, accompanied by no small losses in guns and prisoners. A general demoralisation—the hopelessness, in short, of the struggle—had become glaringly palpable.

Before this adverse tide had set in, Romana and some nine thousand of the soldiers who had been marched out of Spain, by Napoleon's orders, daringly effected their escape and returned to their native land. When news reached them of the first hopeful passages of arms in the Peninsula, they were distributed in quarters chiefly upon the mainland of Denmark. Romana succeeded in putting himself in communication with the Admiral of a British fleet cruising in the western Baltic, and in obtaining his co-operation. The Spaniards then seized upon a number of

small Danish vessels, in which they passed over to the island of Funen. Here they were transferred to the protection of the fleet, and in due course conveyed to Corunna—unfortunately only to take part in the disastrous succession of defeats, partly narrated, of which this corner of Spain was the scene.

The victories of the French were followed, on December 4th, by their re-occupation of Madrid, which Joseph again entered on January 22, 1809. Just a month before the latter date a British force from Portugal, under Sir John Moore, and another from Corunna had effected a junction in the neighbourhood of Leon. Here there was little more than distant conflict. Moore, after ascertaining that the Spanish Generals had in every case been hopelessly worsted, and that Napoleon was advancing upon him in overwhelming numbers, especially of cavalry, decided to retreat towards the north-west coastland. His march was darkened by most disgraceful scenes of drunkenness, violence, and general disorder, relieved, however, by many rear-guard actions which sustained the high repute of the nation for deeds of valour. Finally, on reaching Corunna, the British General, who here fell, so far decisively held at bay and threw back his pursuers that the army embarked unmolested. As no Spanish or Portuguese troops took part in this retreat and battle, a mere connecting outline of them is given. Napoleon, midway in the operations, received news so startling, concerning movements hostile to him in Europe, that he deemed it advisable to hasten back to his own capital.

In this landscape darkening gloomily over Spain the town of Saragossa alone stands out illumined by some rays of encouragement. It had already, from June to August, 1808, kept at bay and then driven off the French. Now again in December, under the same commander, the gallant Palafox, it was called upon to resist the onslaughts of a skilled and spirited attack. Monks, women, and children had their full share in the perils and losses of the siege. A deadly pestilence was soon sweeping away more victims than shot and shell. During the last three weeks the place was without its protecting ramparts, broken through by the enemy. Churches, convents, and houses were then converted into a succession of inner strongholds, defended at the bayonet's point until explosion or fire levelled them to the ground. When, after two months, the capitulation took place forty thousand out of an original fifty thousand inhabitants had perished.

Eastward of Saragossa the struggle in the main was drawn

towards certain large towns. It may suffice to mention the retention of Barcelona by the French, the siege and capture by them of Gerona, and a general overcoming of Spanish opposition, as marking the progress of the war in this quarter to the end of the year 1809. South of Madrid the campaign assumed a much more determinate character. A succession of defeats inflicted by Victor and Sebastiani, accompanied by considerable losses in guns and prisoners, dispersed the Spanish forces in Estremadura and La Mancha, thus for the time almost completing the ascendancy of the French throughout Spain itself.

Not so in Portugal. The British force which took part in the Corunna campaign had certainly been driven from the Peninsula, but the British Government decided upon a continuance of the contest, and in January, 1809, concluded a treaty with Spain which formally bound the two countries to the common object of expelling the French. There were still some eight thousand British troops at Lisbon; these were soon augmented to fourteen thousand. Sir R. Wilson had already under him a Lusitanian Legion. General Beresford had been chosen to command the Portuguese army, with liberty to appoint to it British officers. Most important of all, there landed at Lisbon Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already had the chief hand in obliging the French to evacuate Portugal, and whose temperament, sense of duty, untiring will, and other high military attributes pre-eminently fitted him for the great part he was now to play in the affairs of the Peninsula.

Following Corunna, Portugal had been menaced with invasion from every quarter except the sea. Soult, upon whom after Napoleon's departure the command of the pursuing army had fallen, was alone able to enter the country. As he moved southwards to the Douro, he had little difficulty in dealing with such opposition as he encountered. He captured Oporto on March 29, 1809, amidst horrible scenes of slaughter, of deaths from drowning, and of reprisals which the defenders brought on themselves by their barbaric cruelty to some French prisoners. Here he remained until Wellesley, with an army composed about equally of British and Portuguese, drove him from it on May 12th. The defeated General, in the terrible retreat which followed, lost the whole of his guns, numbering over fifty, together with his baggage; his force was reduced—by deaths, wounds, and prisoners—by some seven thousand men. Thus was Portugal for the second time cleared

of the French, who shortly afterwards also evacuated the north-west corner of Spain.

Now followed the Talavera campaign. All four nations gathered for the contest, though the fortune of war excluded the Portuguese, with the exception of the Lusitanian Legion, now become a useful body of men. The design, in its fullest conception, was to strike a blow at Madrid. The British, advancing from Portugal up the line of the Tagus, were joined near Talavera by the main Spanish army. Unfortunately, the command of the latter had fallen to Cuesta, whose obstinacy and military shortcomings had already become glaringly patent. Having before held back when urged to action by Wellesley, he now, regardless of the British General's warnings, pushed ahead, seemingly under the delusion that alone and unaided he could capture Madrid. He was promptly driven back by King Joseph, who had placed himself at the head of the opposing French army. The allies then took up a position flanked on the right by Talavera, and here, on July 28, 1809, the battle of that name was fought. The French were defeated, inasmuch as they were driven from the field with a loss of seventeen guns. The total casualties on either side were about six thousand.

Nevertheless, Wellesley, his left flank threatened by superior forces under Soult, was compelled to abandon not only the projected advance on Madrid, but also his own present forward position. To this course he was in part driven, because he found that the Spanish authorities were either reluctant, or hopelessly incompetent, to aid him with supplies. He was indeed systematically thwarted, and retired to the Portuguese frontier at Badajoz. Upon this the Spanish Generals, left to their own devices, suffered a further succession of defeats, culminating in an overthrow on the 19th of November at Ocaña, where, in addition to six thousand killed or wounded, they lost twenty-six thousand prisoners, forty-five guns, and the whole of their baggage.

The opening then of the year 1810 found the French not only holding an almost complete mastery over Spain, but, as a consequence of Napoleon's victories in Austria, able to draw additional troops from a supply comparatively unlimited. Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, after his small army had been cruelly decimated by sickness in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, transferred it, from mixed motives of sanitation and strategy, to the Portuguese frontier near Ciudad Rodrigo. Onward action on the part of the French now divided itself into

a descent upon Andalucia and a third invasion of Portugal. The first of these incursions made progress almost unopposed. French columns, directed nominally rather than really by Joseph, soon turned or forced the passes of the Sierra Morena, and easily gained possession of all the chief towns, including Seville with an arsenal and large stores of warlike material. There was one notable exception, Cadiz, which the invaders failed to gain possession of, and against which they threw up strong works of investment.

As this city now became the seat of the Spanish Government, and gave birth to some important political developments, the following general outline may be useful. The Regency appointed by Ferdinand, on his departure for Bayonne, had been succeeded by a Ministry wholly Spanish under Joseph. A Constitution, formulated at Bayonne, which should now have regulated affairs, became necessarily, from the convulsed state of the kingdom, a dead letter. When Joseph was obliged to retire from the capital the provincial Juntas elected a Central Junta, composed of thirty-five members. This Junta was persistently thwarted by the Council of Castile, which considered itself, as constitutionally it was, paramount in matters of administration and judicature. It was opposed also by the already mentioned Supreme Junta of Seville. With the advent of Napoleon, towards the end of 1808, the Council of Castile was suppressed by his command, and the Junta of Thirty-five transferred itself to Seville. Early in 1810 the members of the latter body, on the invasion of Andalucia, hurried to Cadiz in a semi-disbanded condition, brought about by the tumults of the populace. Here, before finally, under some further compulsion, ceasing to exist as an institution, they elected a Regency of Five, as a temporary measure until the people could elect the Cortes. The latter held their first sitting on September 24, 1810.

The invasion of this year of Portugal was entrusted to Massena; the defence fell upon Wellington—commanders equally well qualified for a campaign involving peculiar hazards. Ciudad Rodrigo fell to the French, after an honourable defence, on July 10th. The surrender to them, on August 26th, of Almeida was hastened by an explosion so terrible that it practically destroyed the town. Numerical strength was greatly with the French, whose army at the outset nearly doubled the British and Portuguese regulars. Wellington decided upon a retreat; it was more impeded by the incom-

petence and folly of the Portuguese officials than by the enemy. An outcry, too, arose against a retrograde movement. Partly influenced by this, Wellington, in a formidable position at Busaco, awaited the advance of his adversary. Massena attacked at dawn on September 27th; the battle lasted the whole day; by sunset the French were defeated, with a loss of nearly five thousand killed and wounded. The casualties on the side of the allies were about a quarter of that number. On this occasion the Portuguese were conspicuous for their gallantry.

Massena's position soon assumed a precarious aspect. He was but half-way to Lisbon when, early in October, bodies of Portuguese militia were in possession of the main road by which he had advanced. Leiria and Coimbra fell to them, the latter containing five thousand men, mostly sick and wounded. He lost, too, a quantity of treasure and reserve artillery. Nevertheless, Wellington, persevering in his original design, again fell back. Massena pursuing, was, in little more than a fortnight after Busaco, confronted, to his no small bewilderment, by nearly thirty miles of defiant fortification—the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras, at which British engineers had been working for a year, and which now mounted an aggregate of six hundred guns. At the end of another month, the middle of November, he was retracing his steps followed by Wellington; and though no further general engagement was fought, by the time he regained Spanish territory his force was diminished by forty-five thousand men. The campaign had lasted nearly a year: the French were upon Portuguese soil for about six months.

This, the final evacuation of Portugal, was followed by the allies gaining the battles of Fuentes de Oñoro and Albuera, in May, 1811. Yet these were barely within the Spanish frontier, where the French barred the way from their possession of the important fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; the latter having fallen to them through the presumptuousness and remissness of the Spaniards. From Cadiz came a gleam of hope; the garrison, composed partly of British and Portuguese, in addition to keeping at bay their assailants, defeated them on March 5th in a regular combat at Barrosa, outside the lines of investment. Elsewhere during 1811 the invaders strengthened their position. On the eastern coastland Tortosa fell to them on January 2nd, Tarragona on June 28th, and Valencia on January 29, 1812.

This outlines the general position when, with the commence-

ment of the year 1812, the war entered upon its last phase but one, namely, the irruption of Wellington into Spain. Ciudad Rodrigo, containing one hundred and fifty guns, fortunately fell to the allies quickly after its siege had been seriously pressed, on January 19th, thus inciting that enthusiasm which comes with an early success. No such easy task was the assailing of Badajoz, which, including its various strong outlying forts, the French had reconstructed for defensive purposes with much skill. The Portuguese authorities retarded a commencement by their supineness in regard to their share of besieging materials, and floods afterwards damaged the works of the besiegers. Moreover, Ciudad Rodrigo, which had been entrusted to a Spanish garrison, was threatened by a force from Salamanca under Massena's successor, Marmont, while Soult from the south was hastening in relief through Andalucia.

Badajoz, however, fell on April 6th, after a valorous defence and a heroic assault; the total killed and wounded on the side of the allies, after a less than three weeks' siege, amounted to five thousand, of whom seven hundred were Portuguese. The French lost nearly four thousand in prisoners, one hundred and seventy guns, together with large stores of muskets and ammunition. Minor operations following opened the road into Spain; for Soult had retraced his steps on hearing of the disaster, and was further quickened by a counter movement from Portugal. Marmont, after an incursion into Beira, had retreated to Salamanca.

By the middle of June Wellington was in front of that town, Marmont falling back until he had placed the Douro between himself and his adversary. Here the tide turned, for the French received large reinforcements, and a flanking movement from Madrid began to develop itself. Wellington fell back to Salamanca, where on July 22nd was fought one of the most noteworthy battles of the war. The French were decisively beaten, the Portuguese bearing their full share of a terrible slaughter, while, as it chanced, the Spanish were hardly engaged at all. The important results of this victory were that the defeated army was driven back northwards beyond the Douro; that Joseph, advancing from the capital, retired to defend it; that Soult received orders to evacuate Andalucia, thus raising the siege of Cadiz; and that three weeks after Wellington had won the battle he entered Madrid.

Again, however, occurred an alternation of the movements. Wellington from Madrid had pushed northwards to Burgos,

had gained the town on September 19th, but had then five times unsuccessfully attempted to carry the Castle; and this while the French in front of him were receiving powerful reinforcements, at the same time that Joseph and Soult, having effected a junction, were advancing upon the capital from the south-east. Again Madrid changed hands, and the winter of 1812–13 passed with Joseph once more in possession of that capital, and Wellington's headquarters retired behind the Portuguese frontier.

Though this sounds as a counterblast to a year's headway, it must be borne in mind that Spain south of the Tagus as well as the whole of Portugal had been cleared, permanently at last, of their invaders. In the east, Suchet, though no less able as an administrator than a General, could barely hold his own in face of the co-operation with the Spaniards of a force, partly British, drawn from Sicily. In this quarter too, as elsewhere at this juncture, the guerilla bands attained their height of formidableness. Though a five years' conflict had brought to light no Spanish General at all conspicuous as a commander of organised troops, there had come to the front a number of leaders of irregular bodies who had signally distinguished themselves in the particular class of warfare they had taken to. These bands had now been enormously increased by men thrown out of employment, by deserters, and smugglers. Continuous practical experience had given to many of them a greater value than the existing battalions of regulars. They were further encouraged by the general French retirement which followed the battle of Salamanca, and now more so still by the tidings that thousands upon thousands of their hated enemies had met a fearful doom amidst Russian snows.

Under these conditions there commenced, in May, 1813, a general advance of the allies, stretching diagonally across Spain from the Bay of Biscay to the eastern limits of the Sierra Morena. Wellington had been invited by the Spaniards to become their Commander-in-Chief. Confronted by this movement, French opposition recoiled to the line of the Douro, then to that of the Ebro. At Vitoria, on June 21st, the great and decisive battle of the whole war was fought. Between seventy and eighty thousand combatants on either side took part in it, with a result that French supremacy in the Peninsula was as completely overthrown as it was in Central Europe, two years later, upon the field of Waterloo. Few victories have been more conclusive: the defeated army left behind it one hundred and

fifty guns and nearly the whole of its baggage, including scores of wagons loaded with plundered Spanish property. After this the entire disappearance of the French across the Pyrenees could be but a matter of time. Certain fortresses, notably Pamplona and San Sebastian, held out for awhile, as did Suchet's army on the eastern coastland. There was fierce fighting, too, under the very shadow of the Pyrenees. In October, however, Wellington crossed the Bidassoa, and thus British, Spanish, and Portuguese carried the war into the enemy's country.

Swept with the tide of fugitives towards the frontier, on this wreckage of the Emperor's ambitions in Spain, was the now throneless Joseph, concerning whom it is difficult not to experience some passing feeling of sympathy. Reluctantly he accepted the crown, unwillingly he quitted his Neapolitan kingdom, where he had endeared himself to the people. As he journeyed towards Bayonne, for his new capital, gloomy forebodings of a reversal of fortune filled his mind. He warned the Emperor that his far-reaching designs upon Europe might easily find a grave in the Peninsula. At Madrid he honestly attempted, aided by Spanish ministers, to ingraft beneficial reforms upon a country very much in need of them, and to bring about changes in the French methods of extortion by violence. His reward was to be represented as a deformed drunkard, and the bulk of the Spanish people throughout believed this to be the case. Twice he formally asked his brother to relieve him of his crown, a burden he was unable to bear. Latterly he had been openly disobeyed by his Generals, and for his military shortcomings had been continuously upbraided by the Emperor, who after all his own most perfidious treatment of the country and gross outrages upon it could, in his closing years, find no more charitable expression to use towards it than the "Spanish Ulcer."

It remains to be added that Wellington, after he had passed into South-West France, in addition to minor successes, was victorious at the end of hard-fought contests on the Nivelle, the Nive, at Orthez, and at Toulouse. Following the first of these, there occurred some general disorders amongst the allied troops, and as the Spaniards in particular gave way to excesses of vengeance and plundering, Wellington sent the bulk of them back to their own country. Later they were again brought to the front; thus all three nations fought side by side in the concluding operations, which ended finally in April, 1814.

CHAPTER IV

SPANISH AMERICA

DURING the Peninsular War, and for some ten years after its conclusion, Spain was involved in a momentous struggle with her American colonies—a struggle which ended in their casting themselves off from the mother country as completely as, in the preceding century, a portion of the northern continent had effected its independence of England. It is the purpose of the present chapter to narrate how this vast liberation advanced to its accomplishment.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century Brazil was under the dominion of Portugal, while, with the small exception of Guiana, Spain possessed the remainder of South America, together with Central America, and a Mexico considerably larger than the republic which now bears that name. The pernicious trade routine of olden times, the restrictions, the monopolies have been spoken of. These had since been somewhat relaxed, inasmuch as to the different colonies on the mainland were permitted mercantile dealings with one another, as well as with the various Spanish islands. Still there remained innumerable disadvantageous obstacles to the development of the resources of this vast continent, while any innovations which might deflect sources of income from individual officials were jealously opposed on the spot. There had been no change as to those Spaniards who had found permanent homes in the New World, and who were, as already mentioned, not only excluded from nearly every high or lucrative post, but were treated by those in possession as their inferiors socially. The antipathy thus engendered against the official Spanish classes was fully shared by the various half-castes, and even to some extent by the native Indians and imported negroes.

Glancing at the map, we see that a considerable stretch of the northern coastland of South America was readily accessible to

merchantmen sailing from United States ports. Though such ships and their crews were, under the severest penalties, declared to be excluded, no small amount of contraband traffic was all the same maintained. Thus found an open door the literature of a free Press, together with the advanced notions of a people lately emancipated from all outside control. It was inevitable that parallels should be drawn between the continent on the north of the past and that of the south in its present conditions; that there should be a strong impulse to imitate an example so alluring, an ardent desire for a second Declaration of Independence. At the same time, exciting such hopes and aims, were the many unsettling ideas which had floated across the Atlantic from revolutionary France.

The part played by the English towards the acquisition of liberty by Spanish America claims also some notice. During the state of hostilities, almost continuous for half a century, between England and Spain, preceding their alliance against Napoleon in 1808, there had been numerous projects of weakening the latter country by blows aimed at her American possessions; and especially after the cession to the former of the island of Trinidad, lying within sight of Venezuela, the colonists had received frequent assurances of support, should they rise and strike for freedom. The islands belonging to Spain, her extensive commerce, her treasure-ships had, as a matter of course, been attacked in every war; but, though the annexation of territory upon the mainland had frequently been contemplated, there had ensued, with one exception, no formidable descent upon it.

This exception is made up of a series of connected operations which took place within the widespreading estuary of the Plate River. In June, 1806, Buenos Ayres was seized and occupied by the British, though without authority from the Home Government: before two months had passed the inhabitants had risen against and driven out their victors. During the following year endeavours were made to retrieve this reverse; a considerable force was despatched from England; Monte Video was gallantly assaulted and captured; the expedition continued its course to Buenos Ayres, where, after succeeding in penetrating to the centre of the town, the attacking columns suffered a defeat so decisive that the commander, General Whitelocke, had no option but to sign a capitulation by which he undertook to evacuate all the positions held by him on the Plate estuary: a triumph for the Spaniards which elated their

spirits to the wildest enthusiasm, and had no small influence in determining them, a little later, to be rid similarly of all control by their own constituted authorities.

The general conditions, above referred to, prevailing in Spanish America, need no enlarging upon to show that there were many just causes of discontent. The earlier incidents, however, of the Peninsular War, Napoleon's perfidy, the seizure of the fortresses, the entrapping of Ferdinand, followed by the outburst of May, 1808, against the French, gave a fresh impulse to such patriotic feeling as existed in the colonies; so also in the first instance did the victories in the Plate River. Funds were enthusiastically subscribed in aid of the struggle in Spain. But with the succession of defeats there and of humiliations more galling still, with the failures, neglect, and confusion under the Central Junta, a distinct reaction set in. Ferdinand was forgotten. Finally, when representation in the Spanish Cortes was extended to the colonies, the deputies sent by the latter were very discourteously treated. Thus, on Ferdinand's restoration in 1814, Spanish America was fully committed to an appeal to arms; it had escaped beyond control; the colonists were determined upon independence; the attempt to subdue them was destined to failure.

This loss to Spain of a vast continent, its conversion from viceroyalties into republics, commenced about 1810, by which year revolutionary movements, more or less open, had been inaugurated and extended from the United States borderland to that of Patagonia. Certain provinces obtained their independence almost without bloodshed; others only did so after much fighting. There were combinations of forces against the common enemy, and in some cases valuable assistance was afforded by soldiers of fortune from foreign lands. The great, the protracted struggle had for campaigning-ground the northernmost region of South America, circling from Guiana to Ecuador. A final liberation was not accomplished before 1825. This chapter then attempts a chronicle, necessarily brief, of fifteen years of civil and military conflict, extending simultaneously over an area equal, perhaps, to that of all Europe.

As an opening has already been made in Buenos Ayres, the important capital of the viceroyalty of that name, as too from this province an army marched to aid the Chilians in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and as an army under the same commander, San Martin, afterwards sailed from Chile and helped materially to bring about the deliverance of Peru, the course of

events may be taken in this order northwards, along the Pacific coast, until we come to the lands which circle from Guayaquil to the mouths of the Orinoco, a region where the contest raged long and fiercely, where Spain made her greatest efforts to preserve a vanishing empire, and where throughout nearly the whole of these troubled years the great Bolivar was raising aloft the standard of liberty. Lastly, Mexico, geographically somewhat remote from the other viceroyalties, neither affording them help nor receiving it, yet emancipating herself during the course of the same period, can have the story of her struggles told separately.

The Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres comprised a territory some ten times the size of Great Britain ; from which, however, if we deduct vast unexplored tracts and the wind-swept rolling pampas, there remain to be kept in view chiefly the important towns of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, together with a sparse population occupying villages scattered about the fertile banks of the Plate estuary, of the Parana and other lesser rivers. The original natives having held themselves aloof from the intruding strangers, and only a small number of slaves having been imported, there were comparatively few half-castes : the far-stretching pampa lands, however, not easy of cultivation yet suitable for the rearing of cattle, had given rise to a singular class of herdsmen, unrivalled on horseback, termed gauchos ; men living wild lives beyond the pale of the law and almost of civilisation. Though no gold was there to attract the outside world, the easy access and trade chances of the capital had drawn to it many adventurous spirits of varied nationality, ready to take part in any civil disorders that might arise.

Of these the first to be noticed occurred during the operations of the British at the mouth of the Plate River. Sobremonte, the Viceroy, who was considered to have surrendered Buenos Ayres too readily in 1806, was deposed by a popular assembly which elected Liniers to succeed him, an appointment which, however, was confirmed from Madrid. After a compromised order had been established, Sobremonte undertook to act against Monte Video, when, in the following year, it had fallen to the British. But as his conduct was again thought to be not sufficiently venturesome, the mayor of the capital, Alzaga, one of the leading agitators throughout, easily from the disorderly classes at hand worked up a popular commotion against him, and despatched a force to arrest him. Alzaga afterwards thought to deal with Liniers as he had with his predecessor.

The upshot was very different. Liniers took the initiative, seized his enemy together with other members of the city corporation and shipped them off, wearing their official robes, to Patagonia. This occurred in January, 1809, by which time the colony was in a state of fermentation and confusion of parties, one of which was for King Ferdinand, another for King Joseph, and another, the largest, was for cutting the province off from all Spanish rule. To the latter the local troops inclined. The outcome of all this, added to the disastrous confusion existing in Spain, was that there was brought into existence in 1810 a Junta which, while still recognising the authority of Ferdinand, yet, after no long interval, deemed it advisable to make a riddance of Viceroy, Royal Court, Judges, and other State officials representing the old order of government.

This effected, the Junta prepared to despatch assistance to certain provinces and towns where it had not been found so easy to dominate those in authority. Some new regiments were raised, the officers of which were chosen by the votes of the rank and file, and then a force pushed northwards a thousand miles, under Balcarce, as far as Lake Titicaca on the Peruvian borderland, whence a helping hand could be extended either to that country or to Chile.

Another expedition led to very different results. Paraguay, a remote inland province covered largely with forests, hilly tracts and marsh lands, held back from acknowledging the Central Government installed at Buenos Ayres. Accordingly the Junta determined to infuse, as it proclaimed, the true spirit of liberty amongst the people, and marched into the country some six thousand men under Belgrano. The Paraguayans determined upon an armed opposition: they cleverly circumvented Belgrano and his force, made them prisoners, and conducted them back across the frontier. In 1811, however, the Spanish Governor was deposed; after a Junta had ruled for a while, in the name of Ferdinand, a republic was established.

But the people, instead of entering upon an enjoyment of looked-for rights and liberties, found themselves under a tyrannical Dictatorship. Francia, an adventurer, formerly a Spanish official, soon got all power into his own hands, and held the Paraguayans under a most cruel subjection for many years, during which arbitrary arrests were more frequent, the dungeons fuller, and the gallows oftener in requisition than had ever been the case under Spanish rule. He maintained himself in power for over a quarter of a century: a period, strange to say, of

great prosperity. After his death the Indians spoke of him in whispers, as one endowed with supernatural powers.

Paraguay was thus lost to Spain. Not so readily did the rest of the Plate Province obtain a riddance of the government of the mother country. An attempt was made to continue the viceroyalty in the person of Elio, who had been Governor of Monte Video, to which city during the late disturbed period had repaired a considerable number of Spaniards and others opposed to the rulers who were installing themselves at Buenos Ayres. Moreover, there were still some Spanish men-of-war in the estuary. Elio was thus, though powerless to exercise any authority over State affairs, able to maintain himself in garrison at Monte Video. Hostilities were now inevitable. The Banda Oriental, at present the Republic of Uruguay, lying on the east bank of the Plate River, was invaded from Buenos Ayres in 1811, and quickly overrun, for the bulk of the population abetted the general movement in progress. Monte Video itself was, however, in a position to sustain a siege, and in fact held out until 1814. At an early stage of the operations the Portuguese Court, ruling in Brazil, took upon itself to interfere. It played a double part: it sent assurances of friendship and alliance to Buenos Ayres, at the same time that it despatched to its southern frontier a force of some four thousand men, whose onward march brought about a temporary raising of the siege. These troops were afterwards recalled; as they marched homewards they incurred the hostility of the people, were attacked and worsted near their own frontier.

Monte Video capitulated in June, 1814, and with its fall disappeared the last hope the Spaniards had of regaining any ascendancy in the Plate Province. The Banda Oriental, or Uruguay, as it may be called, did not, however, become in consequence a member of the federation of Argentine states which was now being attempted. Artigas, one of the numerous adventurers produced by these revolutionary times, established a military control over it, defied the Buenos Ayres Junta, and, in short, purposed that it should follow the example of Paraguay, and become a separate republic. This indeed did happen, but not for some years; meantime the Portuguese Court, still at Rio de Janeiro, considering the conjuncture favourable for interfering and annexing a province which Brazil had formerly laid claim to, marched an army towards Monte Video, occupied it in 1817, and three years later obtained a recognition of their authority throughout the whole of Uruguay.

During the course of the events hitherto outlined, Spain was operating in a quarter manifestly favourable to her navy. Yet so far was it from rendering efficient service that the officers and crews on the station had the mortification of witnessing the formation, in their very midst, of a naval force which, after no great lapse of time, had hoisted the flag of independence and was sailing unmolested up and down the Plate estuary. Patriotic shipowners contributed vessels; from the storehouses of the companies at the port came forth cannon, equipment, and provisions; the contraband traffic, which had arisen from Spanish restrictions on trade, had attracted to the spot a plentiful supply of adventurous seafaring men, who readily welcomed a turn at privateering, and whose numbers were frequently augmented by desertions from the royal fleet. Great Britain and the United States provided most of the senior officers, amongst whom Lord Cochrane and William Brown stood conspicuous for their deeds of chivalry and daring. Organised in this haphazard fashion, the Argentine squadron, after clearing the Plate estuary of Spanish men-of-war, made its way to the Pacific coast, and there had no small share in setting up the other South American Republics.

For the first half-dozen years or so after 1810, in Upper Peru and towards the Chilian frontier, the scene of it lying chiefly in what is now Bolivia, a state of fitful warfare was maintained between Spaniards and Independents. It commenced, as briefly stated, by a successful march of the latter to Lake Titicaca; then their forces were driven back worsted; afterwards they regained their lost ground, but were again defeated, this time decisively, though without on the whole affecting the general course of events elsewhere. While the tide of success thus ebbed and flowed eastward of the Andes, there was in course of preparation further south an expeditionary force destined, in a much more sweeping fashion, to bear upon the rule of the Spaniard in America. For some time after the events just spoken of, San Martin, distinguished no less as a high-minded patriot than as a military leader, was assiduously organising a small body of men in the district of Mendoza, which lies eastward of the Chilian frontier at about its centre. In the early part of 1817 he executed his celebrated march across the Andes into Chile, a country the liberation of which may now be dealt with.

This territory, the acquisition of which by the Spaniards followed close upon that of Peru, has a history of no great

interest from those early times until the revolutionary period. It became a Captain-Generalship dependent upon Peru, but with this country or with Mexico it had little in common in the way of great mineral wealth. The Andes, here at their full height, volcanic, snow-clad, running parallel to the whole long rocky coast, at an average distance of less than a hundred miles, have beyond them in the main treeless, waterless deserts. Moreover, the native tribes, especially those in the south, proved perhaps the most fierce that the Spaniards had to deal with. On the other hand, poor and remote as Chile was, its admirable climate had brought into being a hardy race of colonists, little assisted by slave labour, and chiefly of unmixed Spanish blood. Thus prosperous, and contented except in the matter of trade restrictions, the Chilians became revolutionists principally from the example of Buenos Ayres, and at its instigation. The movement in the first instance extended only to deposing, in 1810, the Captain-General, as not sufficiently advanced in his political views, and to appointing another in his place. The military, a small force, offered no resistance. A Congress was chosen, which abolished slavery together with all commercial and Press grievances.

Below the surface of this bloodless revolution there was soon at work a party of reaction, including several Spanish officials who had been generously allowed to retain their posts. Figueroa, a provincial Governor, placed himself at their head and succeeded in persuading a portion of the troops to lend themselves to this movement, of which the course was brief, for Figueroa was quickly taken and shot. The general derangement of affairs now enabled three brothers named Carrera to usurp practically the powers of Congress: at the same time it weakened the opposition which could be offered to a small body of regular troops despatched from Peru by the Viceroy. The Royalist forces, though defeated at first, held out so stubbornly in the fortress of Chillan that the siege of the place had to be abandoned. A general dispersal of the Independence levies commenced, and the failure led further to the discrediting and overthrow of the Carreras.

Such government as the latter had exercised was followed by the appointment of a Supreme Director at Santiago, and by placing the military command in the hands of O'Higgins, the most able and really patriotic leader that the revolution had here brought to the front. Even so, the demoralisation of the Independents was so great that it was plainly advisable to come

to terms. A Convention was entered upon, by which the sovereignty of the King of Spain was recognised. The Spanish Constitution of 1812 was, however, to be adopted, and the Peruvian troops were to be withdrawn. Following this came the restoration of Ferdinand VII. in Spain, and the arrival from that country of large reinforcements. Whereupon Abascal, the Viceroy of Peru, perfidiously ignored the treaty: troops from that country were poured into Chile. Much worse than this, the Carreras conspired to thwart the military operations of O'Higgins, who, after a heroic defence of the country, notably at Raucagua in October, 1814, was driven across the Andes, together with a large following of the populace.

This first unsuccessful struggle for liberty, extending over some four years, was followed by a tyrannous reassertion of Spanish rule until, during the early days of 1817, San Martin commenced his memorable march across the Andes. His devotion to the task before him had already displayed itself in untiring preparations at Mendoza, eastwards of the range, where the inhabitants of the district no less zealously laboured towards providing materials and stores for the expedition. Montevideans and exiled Chilians composed the bulk of the force which, together with followers, amounted to about six thousand men. With the exception of seven hundred slaughter oxen, every article of consumption, equipment, or combat had, in the absence of wheeled transport, to be carried. The route necessitated a long detour through an intricate mountainous country, before, after three hundred miles had been traversed and heights of thirteen thousand feet surmounted, the force reassembled westward of the main chain of the Andes. Half the mules and a third of the horses had perished in the passes. Such losses found an ample compensation in the welcome with which the population hailed the invaders, who in February gained a brilliant victory over the main body of the Spaniards at Chacabuco. Two days later Santiago, the capital, was entered in triumph: at the end of a week, out of the whole Spanish force in the field, numbering some six thousand, two-thirds were prisoners.

San Martin was acclaimed Supreme Director of the country, an honour which he declined. He occupied himself in giving solidity to his successes: he proceeded to Buenos Ayres, whence he returned with funds and additional men: a wise precaution, for in the following year reinforcements from Peru enabled the Spaniards to hazard another campaign. Fortune at the outset

favoured them: a night attack upon the position of the Independents led to their defeat and rout in confusion, an advantage which the victors made no attempt to follow up, whereas San Martin was so conspicuous for the way in which he minimised disaster, that in less than a fortnight he stood in full confidence confronting his enemy at Maypo, where the decisive battle for freedom was fought in April, 1818. It proved a triumph even more complete than Chacabuco. The Spanish lost some two thousand killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners, together with the whole of their artillery and treasure. The victors had about one thousand casualties.

Thus did San Martin achieve the liberation of Chile. Two years later, as we shall see, he led an army to Peru. Meantime he counselled the creation of a naval force. A couple of East-Indiamen were purchased and supplied with guns; an Englishman presented a corvette; a frigate was captured from the enemy; the ubiquitous Lord Cochrane, with other British officers for subordinates, hoisted his flag as Admiral in Command, and after no long period a Chilian squadron was sailing triumphantly upon the Pacific.

Peru now comes under consideration. The discovery of the land of the Incas, its conquest by a mere shipload or two of adventurers, the civilisation of the people, their ordered government, advanced agriculture, ceremonies and festivals must to all time remain interesting subjects of study. Here, where but a line or two can be given to each century, it may suffice for these early times to state that, after resistance on the part of the inhabitants had been mercilessly trodden down, the conquerors fell out amongst themselves, and a period of civil war, with Spanish commanders and natives as allies, was added to the many miseries of a cruel subjection which the Peruvians were experiencing under their new rulers. The latter soon included in their ranks so many lawless, rapacious characters, that a sort of second conquest of the country had to be undertaken by Spain, in order to bring them to subordination.

Then this territory, under the name of the Viceroyalty of Lima, expanded into the greatest and richest of Spanish transatlantic Governments: the greatest, as its jurisdiction extended over what afterwards became the separate Viceroyalties of New Granada and Buenos Ayres: the richest, for it was a land abounding in gold and silver, of which precious metals the mother country was ever insisting that large remittances should be sent to her. The forcible employment of natives in the

mines, including women and children, had here for its result so wholesale a destruction of the population that from twelve millions it dwindled to about a ninth of that number. It need scarcely be told that there was no diminution in the clamourings of Spain for the despatch of the much coveted treasure. Though stringent orders arrived from the Home Government for the protection of these poor Indians; though upright viceroys or worthy prelates might from time to time strive to give effect to those orders, the same terrible system was in the main continued. The mines must be worked, every vestige of idolatry uprooted, the blessings of Christianity purchased by exorbitant fees. Most hateful of all taxes was one imposed upon everything brought for sale to a public market.

Any attempt to rise and throw off such galling fetters was certain death, accompanied probably by terrible tortures. Nevertheless, in 1780, Tupac Amaru, a chief with royal Inca blood in his veins, after many endeavours to draw towards the vanishing remnants of his persecuted race some compassionate attention, raised in despair the standard of revolt. He proclaimed that in doing so his only object was the abolition of the inhuman barbarities which were being practised upon the people. Thousands, openly or surreptitiously, joined the movement, and the chief used with every moderation some first successes. These were few enough; he was soon decisively beaten in a regular engagement and afterwards captured. His fate was a horrible one. After the execution, in front of him of his son, his wife, of other near relatives and certain leaders of the rebellion, his tongue was cut out and his body torn to pieces by four horses dragging it in different directions. This is not a mere recital of barbarous details; for it was the abomination excited, when they became noised about the land, that gave a renewed impulse to the spirit of revolt, extending its area and consequently that of the hangings, quarterings, and other reprisals inflicted upon the vanquished. Thus was bequeathed an intensified hatred which, when thirty years or so later the colonials themselves took up arms against the overrule of the mother country, at once induced the Indians, who had never ceased to cherish in their hearts fond memories of their former prosperous state, to cast in their lot with any faction or uprising which promised them freedom from their oppressors.

Peru, however, at the later period now to be considered, was the last to resort to open measures of insurrection. So

free indeed did the country remain from outbreaks that, as touched upon, it furnished several considerable bodies of troops to combat the Independents of Buenos Ayres and Chile. Murmurings of discontent had, nevertheless, from time to time made themselves heard. It was plainly felt that the prosperity of the whole country was being obstinately retarded: that the desire for some freedom of intercourse with new markets was being perniciously refused. Every dollar of surplus revenue that could be squeezed out of the resident Spaniards or the ill-starred Indians was being shipped off to Cadiz. The offices of the Inquisition occupied a prominent position in the capital. The leaders of the French Revolution had proclaimed that where such wrongs and oppressions exist, the remedy lies with the people. Clubs and secret societies came into existence: domiciliary visits, arrests and banishments were the consequence. Professors of colleges and many members of the priesthood made their influence felt in the sacred cause of freedom. There was necessarily the usual extreme party ready, regardless of ways and means, to raise the cries "Peru and Independence!" "Liberty or Death!"

Nevertheless, it was not until every other province had shipped off to Spain, or in some such equally overt way unseated its Viceroy; not until Ferdinand VII. had been released from French captivity, that a revolution of any magnitude took place. This was in 1814: the chief seat of it Cuzco, which passed into the hands of the leaders of the movement. From here expeditionary columns were despatched in various directions, with a view to their ranks becoming swollen by additional insurgents; a scheme which to some extent succeeded, and the numbers in the field soon included many thousands of Indians. But these hastily raised levies were after a while everywhere defeated and dispersed, chiefly by the rapid and energetic movements of the Spanish General, Ramirez. Moreover, at this juncture, the operations on the frontier towards Buenos Ayres turned altogether in favour of the Spaniards, who completely defeated a so-called Army of Peru under Rondeau.

Peru had thus failed to liberate itself: the future seemed without hope: during five more years the burden had to be borne, and then Chile came to the rescue. In 1820 San Martin, indefatigably zealous in the cause of freedom, had an army ready for the undertaking. It consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, mainly volunteers from the Argentine Republic; and though the Peruvians were helpless in a military

sense, they were everywhere alert and eager, particularly in Lima, for this fresh venture. San Martin's emissaries were received with open arms, his proclamations were distributed far and wide by willing hands, every information as to the enemy was rapidly transmitted to him. At the end of the year he had made good his footing upon Peruvian soil, at Huaura, some seventy miles north of Lima, the capital. Other events favoured him, chiefly the fact that the intrepid Cochrane had established upon the coast the supremacy of the Chilian fleet. There was, moreover, discord amongst the Spaniards, their Generals having early in 1821 themselves deposed the Viceroy, Pezuela. Negotiations followed instead of pitched battles. Though these had no results as to a permanent settlement, the Spanish commanders, aware of the weakness of their position, abandoned in June the coastland generally, including Lima, and withdrew into the interior of the country. San Martin was appointed Protector of Peru and its independence proclaimed. But jealousies worked against his receiving a thorough support, nor was his own conduct altogether judicious. He quitted the country, announcing as his reason the pregnant one that "a fortunate soldier is dangerous to a newly constituted Government." A Congress and the first President of the Peruvian Republic then came into existence.

Here we must pause in the history of Peru, notwithstanding the presence there still of a Spanish army and a Viceroy, La Serna. They were the last that burdened the land; but their fate was not decided until the end of 1824, when was fought the battle of Ayacucho. As this victory was only brought about after the presence on the scene of Bolivar and a Colombian army of deliverance, a section of history relating to the northern provinces has here to intervene.

The events by which the independence of Spanish America was being brought about have not, it is trusted, proved difficult to follow so far in this chapter. A more intricate task is the attempt to unfold clearly, and at the same time briefly, the course of affairs in those regions which a map of to-day shows as constituting the Republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, but which at the commencement of the nineteenth century comprised the last-named under a Captain-General and the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Here, throughout the whole of them, a state of warfare existed with little intermission for fifteen years. The general uprising against the Spaniards was varied by small civil wars amongst the insurgents themselves. Many

towns and districts sought to establish their own separate Governments, whereas Bolivar, who fought in nearly every part of the land, aimed at forming one large republic of the whole. The immense area of the country, its features, especially its rivers when swollen by tropical rains, disconnected the military operations. Frequently the Independents in one locality were in full enjoyment of their self-asserted liberties, while their brethren close by were submitting to the old form of government. A large half-caste population, Indians and negroes were drawn into the strife, and occasionally changed sides, some regiments three or four times. A village friendly in the morning was often hostile by nightfall.

As already referred to, the ports of the northern coastland marked them out as the points of ingress of favourable impressions concerning the forms of government enjoyed by the United States and Great Britain: here the inhabitants were most likely to be influenced by the erratic aims of Revolutionary France. And so it was. As early as 1806, Miranda, an ardent enthusiast who had fought in the American War of Independence and with French Republicans, landed on the Venezuelan coast with a following of only five hundred men, and attempted to bring about a general rising. He was quickly defeated; but by the end of 1810 nearly all the towns and districts north of the Orinoco were in open revolt. Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, had established its Supreme Junta and shipped off to Spain its Captain-General, together with other high officials, civil and military: a portion of the troops had made common cause with the usurping Government, which proclaimed loyalty to Ferdinand should he be restored, a willingness to recognise a constitutionally elected Cortes in Spain, but the fiercest animosity against any submission to the French invaders.

Westward of Lake Maracaybo events followed a somewhat similar course. The town of Quito, now the capital of Ecuador, situated at an elevation of 9,500 feet, amidst a magnificent panorama of the Andes, may be taken as the source of the liberation movement in these provinces. Here as elsewhere a slumbering discontent was aroused into activity by the affairs of Spain. A provisional Government which was established announced that as the mother country had proclaimed the colonies to be integral parts of it, with equal constitutional rights, and as everywhere in Spain Juntas had been formed to safeguard the country's interests, Quito was fully justified in following a like procedure. This first attempt led only to the

imprisonment of those implicated: then had followed an armed rising having for its object the liberation of the prisoners, many of whom were shot in their cells during the course of the attack. Next Bogota, the capital, deposed the Viceroy and sent him off to Spain. Yet here again the sovereign position of Ferdinand was recognised; not so that of any Junta in the Peninsula, even should it possess the title "Supreme." Stronger still was the determination to yield no submission to the usurping rule of King Joseph, and to treat with no envoy of Napoleon.

Returning to the northern seaboard, we find events soon making rapid headway. In 1811 a Congress, formed of deputies from the various provinces, declared for an independent republic. In the following year, however, further advance came to a standstill, owing chiefly to a convulsion of nature. There occurred at Caracas, the headquarters of the new Government, and elsewhere, a succession of appalling earthquakes, which effected a singular transformation in the republican spirit. The priests, who were mainly Royalists, quickly availed themselves of a period of universal panic and dismay, to preach that the calamity was manifestly the visible sign of a Deity justly offended at a people so rebellious. Already there had been reactionary ebullitions fomented by those who had held lucrative offices, and arising in part from the general derangements which must ensue at first from a sudden acquisition of liberty and a free Press, added to the apprehensions of certain traders at the opening of the ports to all nations. Hence a few reverses, experienced by the forces of the Independents, were followed by a full re-establishment of the rule of the Spaniards, who, headed by Monteverde, their successful General, exercised it after a most tyrannical fashion. The terms of a convention entered into with the insurgents were shamefully violated; hundreds of them were thrown into dungeons, while the chivalrous Miranda was no less basely sent as a prisoner to Spain, where he died.

This loss of ground in Venezuela had its counterpart in the Western Provinces. But here progress was stayed, rather by the conflicting aims of the various towns and provinces than by the Spaniards quelling the insurrection. In 1812 Quito was besieged by a Spanish force, chiefly from Peru, was regained, and so remained for ten years. Elsewhere matters were drifting towards a state of civil warfare. Cartagena aimed at supremacy, and in the sequel marched troops against Bogota

to assert it. The attempt failed, and the latter preserved an isolation which she desired. Santa Marta continued loyal, and was consequently at feud with her neighbour Cartagena. In the first outbursts of freedom there were the usual attempts to revolutionise everything, followed by the feeling that government from Spain was preferable to the rule of adventurers and mobs. Even where there was unanimity as to a casting off from the mother country, parties were frequently at daggers drawn in regard to the new form of government. The great question, Federation or Independent States, rose from the outset to the surface. More than once a General Congress, which came into existence, was on the point of deciding its quarrels by an appeal to arms.

While Ecuador and Colombia were thus involved in confusion and the turmoil of conflicting aims and parties, and Venezuela was again submitting to the yoke of Spain, the celebrated Bolivar began to play a leading part in the work of liberation. From this period, indeed, the great events in his career are the remaining steps by which the Spaniards were finally ejected from South America. It is impossible here to say more of his previous life than that, after holding a command under Miranda during the reverse of fortune following the earthquake, he repaired to the Western Provinces which, during the winter of 1812–13, presented that strange medley, just noticed, of patriotism, constitution-framing, conspiracy, and intrigue. Cartagena, where Bolivar landed, was for the moment in the hands of the Independents; he was thus enabled to gather around him a small following, which he increased by an incursion into the country watered by the Magdalena and its many tributaries. He now determined to invade Venezuela, where Monteverde had a considerable superiority of numbers as well as possession of the chief towns.

Though the venture seemed hazardous in the extreme, though the Congress was adverse to it, Bolivar determined upon it; for he plainly saw, and urgently pointed out, that possession of the northern coastland was the prime object to be aimed at. His lieutenants, Rivas and Urdaneté, successfully opened the campaign by defeating Tiscar at Niquitao. Bolivar himself, starting with only five hundred men, occupied Varinas and other places south of Lake Maracaybo. Prisoners and deserters readily volunteered to serve under the victorious General, who, with a daily augmenting army, inflicted a series of defeats upon the Spaniards. Caracas, the capital, he found ready to submit to

him without fighting. He entered it at the head of his buoyant troops in August, 1813, and was there proclaimed Liberator and Captain-General of Venezuela.

This did little to smooth the embarrassments of Bolivar in his administration. As ever, certain districts were clamouring to set up their separate Governments, whereas he contended that such a splitting up must jeopardise the prospects, now so fair, of throwing off completely the yoke of the Spaniard. He no doubt hoped to find himself President of a great republic which he was intent upon constructing. As to hostilities, these, during 1814, were continued mainly in the country between Cumana and Lake Maracaybo. The Independents won the battles of Araure and Calabozo ; the Spaniards those of Barquisimeto and La Puerta. Bolivar, usually victorious himself, was but indifferently served by some of his subordinates, while one of his antagonists, Boves, proved little inferior to him in energy and celerity of movement.

It was, however, by the introduction of local levies into the struggle that the present phase of it was decided. The Venezuelan plains had brought forth many wild tribes of Llaneros, living much in the semi-civilised fashion of the already spoken of Gauchos of the Plate provinces. The Spanish leaders induced to take service under them numbers of these fearless men, able upon their horses to cross rivers in their most swollen condition. They were promised the villages and goods of any of the insurgents whom they dispossessed, which meant, in brief, a free hand in sacking and pillage. Many slave battalions were also raised. These, launched against the columns of the Independents, attenuated by climate and losses in action, altogether turned the scale. Bolivar was driven from the scene, Caracas lost, and the siege of Porto Cabello raised. By this time the warfare, here in the north, had been accompanied by some horribly cruel acts. Monteverde may be said to have led the way to these barbarities, by his bloodthirsty measures of oppression in 1812. When the insurgents gained the upper hand, it was only to be expected that a maltreated population and undisciplined levies would proceed to retaliate. On more than one occasion both Bolivar and his antagonists ordered the slaughter, in cold blood, of hundreds of prisoners.

Thus 1814 ended with the Spanish rule once more re-established in Venezuela. The state of affairs in New Granada may perhaps be defined as a quiet submission to a government of Faction. South of it the cause of Independence had lost

ground. The termination of the Peninsular War enabled Spain, in the following year, to despatch a considerable reinforcing expedition across the Atlantic. Nevertheless that war, in contradistinction to what in like circumstances has usually resulted in other countries, had brought to the front no Generals of the first order. The enterprise, the chivalry, the dash of the French, the doggedness, the systematic methods of the British were lessons alike thrown away upon all ranks of the Spanish soldiery. So, too, in America they learnt little either from friend or foe. This force, however, arrived at an opportune moment. Ferdinand's return to Madrid had moderated the republican enthusiasm of many.

The distractions prevailing in New Granada are readily seen if we here follow Bolivar. After the disastrous close of his late operations, we find him at Bogota urging submission to Congress, and this was only led up to by some decisive Spanish successes. At Cartagena, which in addition to being refractory as to Congress was engaged in a hot partisan feud of its own, he attempted to organise an expedition against Santa Marta, throughout enthusiastically loyal. But the former town refused all co-operation; a fatal act of self-will. Bolivar shortly sailed for Jamaica, influenced, according to his friends, by an unwillingness to add to the existing dissensions, according to his enemies by a fear to encounter the approaching formidable expedition.

This then appeared upon the scene under favourable auspices. It was about eleven thousand strong and commanded by Morillo, who, after strengthening the Spanish hold upon the northern coast, threw the bulk of his force into New Granada. With the exception of Cartagena, which experienced an agonising four months' siege, he had little difficulty in overrunning a country so torn by factions. Bogota, the capital, was entered in May, 1816. Morillo, on his advent the year before, had issued a proclamation of clemency and oblivion for the past; again at Bogota an amnesty was promised; measures which had produced most satisfactory results. Soon this policy was reversed; instead of concessions and a tempered rule, there began a reign of terror. Numerous executions, imprisonments, and confiscations took place. Liberalism, the smallest whisper of Republicanism, must be stamped out. Morillo demanded absolute submission to Ferdinand VII., who was now known throughout the colonies to have thrown to the winds the Constitution of 1812, and to have placed the mother country under a despotism as tyrannous as that of Philip II.

In Venezuela, too, a ruinous course was being pursued by several Generals, who, in short, were imposing upon the inhabitants the old viceregal system, with the additional evil that some of them seemed little disposed to submit to their own Commander-in-Chief. More fatal still, the Llaneros found themselves duped as to the promises made to them ; they were dismissed unpaid and unthanked ; on the opening of the next phase of the campaigning they flocked to the standards of the Independents. In May, 1816, Bolivar reappeared upon the northern coastland. Accompanied by a mere handful of men, having, however, a few vessels equipped for fighting purposes, he landed upon the island of Margarita, where he was at once invested with the supreme command, and where a Republic was for the third time proclaimed. Yet his own great aims seemed far from realisation. Spanish Generals commanding trained soldiers were in possession of all the important positions. He attacked Caracas and was beaten off ; several of his commanders proved obstructive and insubordinate, with a result that for a long time his influence scarcely extended beyond Margarita and a few ports of the neighbouring mainland.

Fortunately he was zealously served by his small naval contingent, which, working its way up the Orinoco, brought about the capture of Angostura. This town became a useful base for further operations. The slighted Llanero bands flocked to it, together with remnants of other regiments before broken up by defeat. More fortunate still, at this juncture of affairs, was the arrival of some bodies of foreigners. They came chiefly from Great Britain, perhaps five thousand in all ; many of them had already seen service during the Napoleonic wars. At these materials Bolivar worked with unceasing assiduity, and having drawn Morillo from New Granada to Venezuela, these two leaders continued opposed to each other until 1819. The course of the campaigning was very checkered. The main successes of the Independents were that they repulsed all attempts upon Margarita, and drove their opponents out of the Orinoco district. Away from the coast supplies failed the Spaniards, especially remounts, whereas their adversaries could always draw upon their faithful Llaneros. Where Bolivar's half-trained, badly equipped, and miserably clad irregulars ventured an engagement, in a position favourable to the Spanish infantry, they were usually routed, and decisively so on some half-dozen occasions.

But the wastage of a long wear-and-tear campaign was a very

serious matter for Spain. An averseness as to embarking for America was becoming more and more pronounced. In 1818 the troops on board a transport, at sea, murdered their officers and joined the insurgents. It will be seen presently how this repugnance culminated in a vast military revolt near Cadiz. Meantime, with hostilities somewhat at a deadlock between Morillo and Bolivar, the latter determined upon a bold stroke of strategy. His adversary had left few troops behind him in New Granada, thus an incursion into that province promised success. Bolivar, detaching a division under Paez to face Morillo, marched westwards and crossed the intervening Cordillera at a point where it attains an elevation of eleven thousand feet. He then, with his small army terribly decimated, ragged and half starved, won the battle of Boyaca in August, 1819. It was a decisive victory, followed by the occupation of the capital, Bogota, and by the creation of the great Republic of Colombia, stretching from Ecuador to British Guiana. Bolivar was unanimously appointed President. Meantime Morillo returned to Spain; but there was still in the field in Venezuela his considerable army, which Bolivar in June, 1821, defeated and dispersed completely at Carabobo; thus concluding virtually the War of Independence in the great northern Republic.

Following this enduring achievement arose the question as to the further extension of Colombia, by the addition of what is now Ecuador. Here again there was a party, chiefly in the important naval town of Guayaquil, which aimed at setting up a separate republic. There was also a faction which urged incorporation with Peru rather than with Colombia; moreover, at about the period when Bolivar was bringing to a close the operations further north, reactionary movements in favour of Ferdinand VII. developed themselves. This conflict of aims was enabling the Spaniards to reassert their rule, when fortunately assistance came from Peru in the shape of an auxiliary contingent, which, added to such forces as the Independents could collect, enabled Sucre, one of their most able Generals, to gain a clever victory at Pichincha. This engagement, fought in May, 1822, in close proximity to the crater of a volcano, lost Ecuador to Spain, and enabled Bolivar triumphantly to proclaim to the Colombians that their magnificent country was now free from the Orinoco to the Andes of Peru.

To this country the scene now changes, and for the last time. We quitted it at a moment when, seemingly, the efforts of the Independents were bound to be crowned by further successes.

They had established a Government, had occupied Lima, the capital, in July, 1821, and were in possession of the country to the north of it; they had considerable troops arrayed under their new national flag, and had compelled the Spanish forces to retire into the interior; they held command of the sea, had a navy of their own in process of creation, and found no difficulty in obtaining a loan from Europe. Then there followed some well-nigh fatal reverses, which befell them in their further endeavours to drive the Spaniards from the land. One expedition, made up of troops from Peru, Argentina, and Chile, despatched southwards by sea under Alvarado, was completely defeated at Torata in January, 1823. The whole of their artillery fell into the hands of the victorious Spanish commander Canterac. Another, some nine months later, under Santa Cruz, found itself confronted in the same district by the Viceroy, La Serna. The Independents were compelled to commence a retreat, which soon became a disorderly rout, with the not unusual accompaniments of panics and insubordination. Of the army of Santa Cruz, at one time seven thousand strong, only one thousand three hundred were forthcoming for re-embarkation for Callao.

While these misfortunes were befalling the Independents in the Southern Provinces, events no less disastrous were occurring elsewhere. A Royalist army, marching from its headquarters in the Jauja valley, succeeded in June in obtaining possession of Lima, and obliging its adversaries to retire to the fortress of Callao. Worse than this, intrigues set in against President Aguero, though they were so far commendable that there was a party intent upon bringing Bolivar upon the scene, which, in fact, shortly happened. Several members of Congress had not shown themselves proof against bribery; Aguero was deposed; but for a period, in company with others in the Assembly who stood loyal to him, he established himself at Trujillo as representing the lawful Government. He was shortly driven from the country: meantime, on the 1st of September, Bolivar had been received with enthusiasm at Lima, from which the Spaniards had withdrawn their troops for employment elsewhere.

In February, 1824, this city again changed hands, owing to a sudden revolt in a regiment of blacks, followed by some treasonable conduct on the part of President Torretagle. Fortunately, however, for the cause of the Liberators, the convulsions which were agitating Spain were making themselves felt in the colony: the Generals and officials were, in brief, divided into Absolutist

and Constitutional parties. So much so that a civil war broke out, with the result that Olaneta, an upholder of Ferdinand's methods, established an independent command for himself south of the Desaguadero. This occurred while the Colombians, warmly sympathising with the Peruvians, were busying themselves with despatching to their aid considerable auxiliary forces. La Serna was thus paralysed, and prevented from energetic action against Bolivar's forces while they were still without cohesion.

The latter, in June, 1824, crossed the Andes from Cajatambo on the west to Pasco on the east: a memorable march, for the mountain range here attains to some eleven thousand feet, and the only means of traversing it are mere mule tracks winding, as was often experienced, in fatal proximity to appalling precipices. While this critical passage was being accomplished, the Royalist army under Canterac, lying in the Jauja valley, made no attempt to deal with it as, scattered and in confusion, it descended the eastern slopes and effected its re-assembly at Pasco. This second opportunity of acting with the chances of war favourable having passed, Canterac moved northwards to meet his enemy, was worsted at Junin in an affair chiefly of cavalry, and driven with considerable loss of men and material from a district fruitful in supplies, which thus fell to Bolivar. The periodical rains now caused a temporary cessation of hostilities: before their resumption Bolivar was in effect deprived of the command of the army. By the Peruvians he had been appointed Dictator with unlimited powers; but the Colombian Congress decided that he must limit his sphere of action to the duties of a civil administrator. The causes, interesting as they are, which led to this singular decision, need not detain us. Enough that Bolivar acted with most commendable judgment. He confided to Sucre the command of the army of liberation, and busied himself with the details of its organisation.

It was late in the year before active warfare recommenced. The last of the Spanish armies which fought to retain a hold upon South America was now in the field under the last of its Viceroys. The long years of internecine strife, of cold-blooded reprisals, of arduous campaigning in malarious regions were now drawing to a close. From Cuzco, the old historic capital of Peru, where the Incas had made a final stand against the invaders of their country, La Serna advanced to the encounter. A series of manœuvres in an intricate mountainous country, entailing upon both forces incessant toil and privation, finally,

on December 9, 1824, gave the Spaniards a commanding position overlooking the plain in which Ayacucho stands. They numbered about nine thousand, and were strong in artillery; their antagonists were considerably under six thousand and had but a single serviceable gun; their force, however, included some excellent irregular cavalry. The battle was short. The Spaniards descended to the attack, but, in the confusion of forming their line, were themselves assailed before a flanking movement on their part had sufficiently developed itself. They fought in a half-hearted fashion, while their adversaries, especially the cavalry, elate with the recollections of Junin, went into action in the fullest confidence. In a couple of hours the Independents had gained a complete victory over an enemy on all sides flying in disorder, dispersing or surrendering. La Serna, the Viceroy, was taken, together with two thousand five hundred prisoners, including all his senior officers. His killed and wounded amounted respectively to about seven hundred and fourteen hundred. He lost the whole of his artillery. The Independents had some three hundred killed and six hundred wounded.

After this, though some garrisons were still holding out, it was plain that the complete emancipation of all those colonies which had revolted must soon be an accomplished fact. It may here be mentioned that Ferdinand had appealed to the European Powers to assist him in reasserting his rule over his rebellious transatlantic subjects. There was some inclination towards this amongst the members of the Holy Alliance, who feared that the establishment of a number of South American republics would not be without a disquieting effect upon their own peoples. Great Britain, however, was wholly against any such armed intervention, and by the time of Ayacucho had recognised, in principle at least, the independence of the colonies. The United States had already done so during 1822.

Lastly we come to the conversion from a Viceroyalty to a Republic of Mexico, which at that time covered a much larger area than it now does, and had proved a most valuable colony, having for centuries remitted a considerable tribute to the mother country. In its prevailing trading and governing systems there was no feature calling for special notice. The clergy, however, from their wealth and numbers, formed a very important body, and were somewhat divided by the same causes which had sown enmity amongst the rest of the

community. The high dignitaries were the counterpart of the Spanish office-holders; the priests, many of them half-castes, some natives pure, shared the lot as to preferment of the colonials. Yet they exercised no small influence over an ignorant people, and could not well be losers by revolutionary movements having for their object the ousting of those in authority. The events of 1808 led to the same conflicting opinions as elsewhere, showing perhaps the existence of a stronger monarchical party, which inclined even to recognise Joseph rather than the Juntas, and proclaimed that the colonies must in any case throw in their lot with the mother country.

The first outcome of the commotions was singular. The Viceroy, Iturrigaray, was indeed deposed and sent home, but by the Court party, who considered him not sufficiently energetic in upholding the old governmental system. Three successors had, by 1810, held and been removed from office; when the unsettlement arising from this and from the confusion of orders received from Spain, the example of other vice-royalties, the increasing discontent of the colonials, the formation of a variety of associations demanding free institutions, had all combined to prepare the way for a general revolution. Of this the standard was raised by Hidalgo, a priest who, while living a quiet, commendable life, had yet acquired no small local influence. He now, with fiery enthusiasm, proclaimed for emancipation. A few officers joined him, some soldiers from provincial regiments, together with swarms of Indians, many armed only with clubs, slings, or other such primitive weapons. He had soon gathered around him at least twenty thousand men. The capture of Guanajuato, the chief town of the same named district where the insurrection broke out, furnished him with five million dollars. But the cause was quickly disgraced by the savage conduct of the Indians, who indulged their wild passions in indiscriminate slaughters of Spaniards and half-castes. Hidalgo not only did nothing to prevent this, he often led the way, crucifix in hand, while he used as a battlecry both Independence and Ferdinand VII., just as suited his purpose. Nevertheless his popularity so mounted that in October he was menacing Mexico, the capital, with a following of upwards of one hundred thousand men.

Here the tide turned: the city would have nothing to do with him and his murderous Indians; preparations were made for defence and some field forces placed in motion. Vanegas,

a new Viceroy, was aided by the Archbishop, who excommunicated the whole body of the insurgents, a measure not without effect. Hidalgo was soon retracing his steps, as well as threatened in rear. An engagement took place at Aculco, where the Indians with their obsolete arms were faced by bayonets and field artillery; the Spaniards, in addition to inflicting a terrible slaughter on the spot, killed a number of women and children. A second stand was attempted at Guadalajara, where the insurgents were again decisively beaten, and by the early part of 1811 totally dispersed. Hidalgo's attempts to foment the Northern Provinces proved equally want in or success in. In the end he was betrayed by his own officers, taken prisoner, and shot.

This outburst was followed by a period of guerrilla warfare, at which several leaders showed themselves particularly adept. Another priest, Morelos, played a higher part. Wanting in the passionate fervour of Hidalgo, he was also without his cruelty, and was much more skilful at organisation. He too hoped to gain the capital and failed, though he maintained himself in the field. Under him was brought into being a Congress, which replaced a previously existing Junta under another leader, Rayon. By the former, on September 1, 1813, was proclaimed the Independence of Mexico, while many classes who held aloof from Hidalgo seemed inclined to throw in their lot with his successor. On the other hand, Callega, who had been the successful General against Hidalgo, and was now Viceroy, found means to terrorise the insurrection. He, however, ignored the Cadiz Government, declaimed against the old Spanish system, and offered an amnesty. Thus, though Morelos suffered a defeat towards the latter part of 1813, the year closed without either side having established an ascendancy. The Royalists held the principal towns and fortified places, the Independents were in possession of much else of the country, while the inhabitants endured great miseries from vindictive reprisals and devastation. With the following year set in a complete collapse of the struggle for freedom. Morelos was again defeated. Many of the subordinate commanders were adventurers rather than patriots, some belonged to the lowest classes; they quarrelled amongst themselves, proved cruel and licentious, or showed that they were intent only upon self-aggrandisement and opulence.

The Congress failed to find stability in any sense of the word; for though it elaborated a Constitution, its members

were at discord, some of them traitorous; at the same time it was driven from one place to another with the fluctuations of the campaigning. Morelos, accompanying it during one of its flights, was captured in November, 1816, and, needless to say, executed. After this severe loss the Congress was soon dissolved, and the insurgents hastened by the thousand to avail themselves of a judicious amnesty. Nevertheless the following year brought upon the scene another would-be liberator in the person of Mina, a nephew of the celebrated Peninsular guerrilla chief. He drew together his original body of men abroad, chiefly in the United States, and landed with them, a mere three hundred, upon the Tamaulipas coast, where an alert Spanish naval commander dispersed his transports. Mina then marched to the Guanajuato distict, the population of which had so readily swarmed around Hidalgo, but only, after a nine months' campaign, to meet that chief's fate. He never had under him more than about fifteen hundred men; after their dispersal Mexico, thanks to a wisely temperate Viceroy, Apodaca, remained submissive until 1820.

By that year, as we shall see, there had worked up in Spain a revolution, concerning which it is sufficient here to mention that Ferdinand had resigned himself to the reintroduction of the Constitution of 1812, and had sworn to observe it. Apodaca duly received orders to promulgate it; his hesitation to do so excited a call to arms amongst the various bodies before in revolt. He himself schemed to make it appear that he was a victim to circumstances—that is to say, to a military outburst against the Constitution; he hoped thus, whatever happened in Spain, to maintain himself in favour. This subtle device proved a complete failure. Yturbide, hitherto a prominent Royalist leader, though with a suspicious reputation, was entrusted with the command of the army and the carrying out of the Viceroy's expedient; but, having gained over the troops—regulars and locals alike—he, in brief, installed himself as a Dictator. He proposed that Mexico should cast off the overrule of Spain and become a separate Monarchy. The Crown was to be offered to a Spanish Prince; even to Ferdinand himself should he be driven from his own country. All the inhabitants were to enjoy equal rights and liberties. The Church was to be upheld in full integrity.

This alluring offer drew towards Yturbide the chiefs who had before been fighting against the Government, and who, though reduced to a seeming submission, yet had their insurgent bands

ready to rally to them on a given signal. The army, the Church, and the people generally were attracted by the new Monarchy. Thus Yturbide, by the close of 1821, was master of the situation. Apodaca was deposed, and another Viceroy, who arrived from Spain in August of that year, with powers to make concessions, considered it advisable to accept accomplished facts. The treaty, however, which he duly signed, was repudiated at Madrid. Yturbide soon showed that events had awakened in him a love of power: he was, in fact, proclaimed Emperor in May, 1822. Shortly before this the capital had presented a humiliating spectacle. The regular troops had been marched out of it for embarkation for home. A portion had sailed, when an attempt was made by the remainder to restore an absolutist rule. They were not only obliged to lay down their arms; they were brought back and marched through the streets of Mexico as prisoners.

So ended Spanish rule in the land of the Aztecs; no less completely it passed away from nearly the whole of the New World. Plainly the fault was Spain's own. Putting aside the mercantile and trading questions, including exports and imports, as matters not easily understood or adjustable, there remain the centuries of slighting, of humbling and wronging a vast mass of humanity. It seems strange indeed that the monarchical fervour, the affection towards the mother country, remained in force as long as it did amongst proud, passionate populations, where in many cases all other connection was but slight. These feelings were undoubtedly strong, in some of the colonies, up to Ferdinand's return from France. Certain concessions were, however, then absolute necessities, and there was usually an influential moderate party ready to accept compromise and so save the Viceroyalties to Spain. But if promises of a changed order were from time to time made, it was quickly evident that there was no intention of fulfilling them. As soon as a General obtained an ascendancy it was seen that the old despotic rule was being reimposed, and in a spirit of revenge, accompanied by executions, often by torture. Privileges, monopolies, the Inquisition, Press restrictions, an odious police system were again established. Remittances for the mother country were demanded. Delegates sent across the Atlantic, to sit in the Cortes or appeal to a Ministry, were frequently publicly insulted.

What next arrests the attention is how King, Cabinets, Radicals, Reactionists alike failed altogether to grasp the magnitude of the task involved in a military subjection of so

vast a continent. Officers sent out from Spain found, to their surprise, that the regiments to which they were posted had been filled up with men born in the country, and sharing more or less the desire for Independence. The frequent desertions of these continued to furnish trained material to the insurgents. As to the fresh regiments or drafts which could be induced to sail from the mother country, it is needless to enlarge upon the wastage they experienced, when we recollect the nearness of the Equator to much of the most severely contested campaigning ground. When the Spaniards were defeated they usually parted with a number of prisoners; when the Independents lost the day the survivors—acclimatised men, half-castes or natives—were probably soon again in the field. Even before the Cadiz revolt, the majority of the officers serving in South America felt that the Viceroyalties were lost unless large concessions were made. As Spain remained obdurate, the period arrived when everything short of complete Independence was refused.

CHAPTER V

PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

THE Peninsular War has had allotted to it a chapter nearly wholly, as regards Portugal, military. It is scarcely necessary, except in the case of Brazil, to say much of these years politically, or of the succeeding ones which together embrace the period while—the Royal Family holding their Court in Brazil—this colony to some extent assumed the functions of a mother country.

The main point is that Portugal felt and resented the disadvantages of falling to the position of a dependency. Junot we saw, in 1807, firing a shot at the departing exiles, of whom the chief personages were the Regent, John, and his mother, Queen Maria I., who had for many years been in a state of imbecility. During the continuance of the war the collision of interests—Portuguese and Brazilian—remained secondary to the strife of arms; indeed, Portugal's chief concern was towards Great Britain, for that country was providing treasure, ships, troops, an Admiral for her fleet, Generals, even regimental officers; and without this immense assistance it was idle to hope for deliverance from the invading French. Moreover, British guidance and advice were maintained by the presence of a representative of that country at the deliberations of the Regency, which, amidst jealousies and intrigues, governed Portugal from 1807 until the return of Monarchy in person in 1821. During this interval, in 1815, a United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves was proclaimed by the Regent, who in the following year, on the death of his mother, commenced to reign over it as John VI.

The war at an end, the main feeling pervading the country was one of discontented unrest. The agricultural classes could, for some years, but look with despair upon their denuded fields and stripped homesteads. It was known that the great efforts of the people, and the payments so liberally made by the

British, had often merely helped to swell the incomes of dishonest Portuguese contractors. Waterloo had been fought, Napoleon was at St. Helena, yet the Reigning House tarried in Brazil. A nation loyal at heart had by no means forgotten how they had been deserted by that House. Rumour had multiplied the amount of specie and valuables taken on board by the fugitives. Remittances to Brazil continued to be made, not only for the Court, but also for the households of a number of territorial magnates, whose absence was further impoverishing the lower orders. The Regency was discredited; it was unpopular with all classes, and deservedly so, especially with the army, for it had designedly sought to lower its efficiency, and, during the Hundred Days, had successfully opposed a contemplated despatch to Belgium of a small army corps. The men, too, of those regiments which had crossed the Pyrenees with Wellington had returned grumbling and indignant, at the comparative liberty and comforts they had seen to be the lot of the peasantry of a country which had been convulsed by thirty years of strife. Liberal ideas had long before been awakened by their intercourse with the soldiers of the two most advanced nations of Europe.

The harbours of Brazil had been thrown open to the ships of every country alike; but an innovation which thus attracted all manner of foreign flags was producing consternation in the chief trading houses of Lisbon and Oporto, thus heightening the clamour that Brazil must be relegated to its former subordinate position as a colony, and raising an outcry against Great Britain in particular as the most enterprising of the nations now enriching themselves at the expense of Portugal. The seriousness of this last consisted in the fact that Lord Beresford had been retained in his position at Lisbon as Commander-in-Chief, and had under him about a hundred British officers, several of them at the head of regiments. Though moved by these undercurrents, the surface remained undisturbed until 1820—a year which witnessed a series of important revolutionary events in Portugal. In April Beresford sailed for Rio de Janeiro, to represent to the Court there the urgency of certain measures by which the agitations stirring the mother country might be allayed.

Casting a glance at the condition of Brazil during this intermediate period, we find there also many causes predisposing to the convulsive phase which that country entered upon at the same time as the Continental kingdom. In each case, however,

it was the question as to the seat of Government, the abode of the King, which mainly originated a strife soon to become intensely embittered. The Royal Family on arrival at Rio de Janeiro, in 1808, were welcomed with every demonstration of joy. The colony was prosperous; its government from Lisbon had been attended by few of those glaring faults of commission and omission alluded to in the case of Spain. An immense slave population was being treated with humanity. No overbearing influence was exercised by the priesthood. It was now raised to the dignity of a kingdom; ambassadors from the Courts of Europe were assigned to it. Such feeling as had existed towards emancipation disappeared in a fervour of enthusiasm for Monarchy. Its harbours were thrown open, one effect of which was that foreign literature and ideas had a fair opportunity of circulating. Schools multiplied, and local publications for the first time made their appearance.

But this advancing prosperity was attended by grievances no less in evidence. The Royal Family had been accompanied to Rio by an immense courtly following, to whom the inhabitants were not so ready to extend unlimited hospitality; though some wealthy citizens made great personal sacrifices in this direction. Soon it was brought home to the Brazilians, not only that the establishments of these grandees had to be maintained at an exorbitant cost, but that all the most lucrative posts under Government were being absorbed by them. Hence of course friction and jealousy. A few risings followed, having for their object a subversion of the existing rule. They were easily put down, and need not have been here alluded to, except from the fact that some regiments lately arrived from Portugal were employed upon their suppression. Already the officers of the local forces found that they were being superseded, by Court favouritism, in a manner similar to their civil brethren; and this discontent readily communicated itself to the rank and file. Thus it is seen how, as the antagonism between Portuguese and Brazilians became more acute, the regular and local forces divided into two hostile camps.

But this animosity was not, as in the case of Spanish America, accompanied by a cry for emancipation and a republic. On the contrary, here in Brazil the struggle was for possession of the monarch; he may be said to have been the standard around which the strife was to become most fierce. Portugal's discontent was undoubtedly most just; at the same time Brazil could not but be greatly disconcerted at the eclipse which must

ensue, upon the sailing away of the Royal Family from Rio. Manifestly a kingdom so singularly united needed a Sovereign of more than ordinary capacity. John VI. had certainly many good qualities. He was humane and kind-hearted; he loved his people, and wished to reign over them upon constitutional lines. On the other hand, he was altogether incapable of prompt or vigorous action. He was jealous as to his kingly dignities, at the same time that every one who by chance gained his ear, from a Minister of State down to a mere hanger-on about the Court, was not only patiently listened to, but likely enough to have his views acted upon. Too often his counsellors were the priests of a religion to which he submitted himself with a slavish awe and superstition.

Revelling in the factions and intrigues thus generated were his own nearest relatives. His Queen was the imperious, ambitious, plotting Charlotte Joaquima, sister to Ferdinand VII. of Spain, a relationship which, during the latter's detention in France, she sought to profit by at one time as a claim to the Regency, at another towards obtaining a principality in one of the revolted colonies, and again in view of acquisitions in Brazil, where many possibilities opened hopefully to venturesomeness. Their eldest son, Pedro, soon to become Emperor of Brazil, never hesitated to place himself in antagonism to his father where he found it advantageous so to act. The second son, Miguel, will shortly be seen to have developed into one of the most worthless, reprobate princes who have ever played a part in European affairs. Two daughters of this royal couple, Isabella and Francesca, were married in 1816 respectively to Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, and to his brother the conspicuous Don Carlos of a later period.

In Portugal the first outburst of importance occurred, during August, 1820, at Oporto, a town generally ready to take the lead in revolutionary movements. Of incentive feeling it has been shown that there was no lack. The contagion, too, of example had its influence; for we shall see Spain to be in the throes of civil convulsions during this year, while insurrections were in progress both in Italy and Sicily. Here at Oporto the troops, whose pay was very much in arrears, gave the signal by revolting and arresting their British officers. The rest of the population, including the clergy, readily made common cause with the insurgents, and the ferment quickly spread through the adjacent provinces. The chief demand was for Cortes and for a Constitution: a governing Junta was formed.

At Lisbon the news of this outburst was received with consternation by the Regency, especially when it was known that the Oporto troops had set out for the capital. It was determined to oppose them and despatch a force northwards. But the men forming this had already caught the infection: they acted on lines similar to their Oporto brethren: the British officers were dispossessed of their commands. The unpopular Regency underwent compulsory transformation, and then a provisional Junta was established. By this time the Oporto troops, headed by the Junta of that town, had arrived in the neighbourhood. There was a general fraternisation, civil and military; the curtain, at the close of this first act, falling upon the two Juntas holding their sittings, early in October, in unison in the capital. On the 10th Beresford arrived in the harbour, but was refused a landing and proceeded to England.

Two demands now found paramount assertion. The King must quit Brazil forthwith and return to Lisbon; the Cortes must be assembled; but in regard to the manner in which these were to be convened, and as to the adoption of a new Constitution, the members of the ruling body nearly came to blows. The Lisbon representatives advocated a Monarchy not unlike that of Great Britain; those from Oporto were bent upon radical changes, and so far carried the day that, aided by a display of force and a clamouring mob, they obliged their adversaries to accept the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Then a reaction of feeling set in: a compromise was effected; merely were the Cortes to be elected as prescribed by the Cadiz code; after that the framing of a Constitution was to be proceeded with. All the same a very democratical Cortes was elected, as may be judged from the new Constitution, which established universal suffrage and a single Chamber. The latter was to initiate all fresh laws, as well as to make any alterations in the existing ones, was to approve all treaties, and to have in its hands the whole of the promotions in the public services, thus reducing the Sovereign to a mere cipher, for he was allowed but a temporary veto, and had no powers as to proroguing or dissolving.

As the news of these revolutionary movements spread abroad in Brazil, the impulse was to pursue a similar course in demanding great constitutional reforms. There were tumults in the chief towns, while the King in his diffident way allowed himself to be borne along with the current of clamouring. He announced that the heir to the throne, Pedro, would forthwith

proceed to Portugal as his representative, and that the new Constitution—though not at this date even formulated—would be made applicable in a modified form to Brazil. But the populace and the troops of Rio alike demanded it in its integrity, knowing that it would be after the type of the Cadiz Code of 1812. The movement at once found partisans in the two sons of the King, and in due course all three took oath faithfully to observe and obey this unborn Constitution. All the while violent contentions continued regarding the return of the Royal Family to Lisbon. The Cortes there were demanding it; some of the King's circle were aiming at it as a means towards a resumption of their position in their own country. On the other hand amongst the Brazilians, fearing thus to lapse into the position of mere colonists, many were now urging that, rather than this, complete independence should be proclaimed. One singular outcome was that the Spanish Constitution of 1812 was partly adopted for a while, and by its provisions were regulated the elections of members about to proceed to Lisbon, there to sit in the Cortes. Finally, after much heated controversy, John VI. sailed for Portugal in April, 1821, leaving behind him as Regent, with full powers, his eldest son, Dom Pedro.

By the close of the following year Brazil had severed all connection, as to government, with Portugal: it had, in fact, elevated Pedro to be its Emperor. As, during the acts which led to this, the chief scene changes frequently between the Bay of Rio and the palaces on the banks of the Tagus, confusion may perhaps be avoided by following to an end events in the colony, apart, as far as they are separable, from the course of affairs in the mother country. Pedro, then, as Regent, on the departure of his father, found himself in a position of no small difficulty, not to say precariousness. Favourable to him were most of the upper classes—monarchists, non-separatists, some of them even advocates for the rule as it existed before the invasion of Junot. Now, however, finding little to approve in the procedure of the Lisbon Cortes, they were content enough to accept a Regency as the best solution of the problem. The priesthood too were for Pedro, and the local troops seemingly so, though they were wanting in organisation and readiness, even to the extent that many were only partially equipped.

On the other hand there was a general democratic ferment, and an extreme section clamouring for Emancipation and a Republic; all parties were, in fact, becoming somewhat un-

settled by the freedom already gained by Buenos Ayres and Chile, by the victorious career of Bolivar. The regular Portuguese troops maintained an attitude somewhat aloof. Many of the men had come out to the colony imbued with the ideas prevailing at home; but they were little inclined to throw in their lot either with the straggling local troops or with the agitators who were striving to effect a severance between the two countries. They formed an efficient military body, as most of the men had seen service during the Peninsular War. These conflicting agitations the Regent, a prince of sound ability, did his best to allay. The general temperament, however, may be gauged from some of the first events in his tenure of office. The anxiously awaited Constitution arrived in due course at Rio; some delay was shown in promulgating it, whereupon the Portuguese troops marched in a body to the public square, with a view to enforcing action as to its provisions. Their demand was complied with, as were some additional ones, such as that for the dismissal of an obnoxious minister.

Turning for a moment to the Lisbon Cortes: plainly on their part prudential measures, together with a spirit of forbearance and conciliation, were necessities to the situation. A diametrically opposite course was followed; so much so that act upon act reads as if positively intended to loosen the bands holding the two peoples together. The various Brazilian provinces were encouraged, by formal decrees, to regard the European capital as the only established source of authority; Governors were despatched to them from home, together with additional troops to support their presence. The military forces on either side of the Atlantic were declared to be united into a common army; by which arrangement, as the local regiments were held to be liable to be brought over for service in Portugal, military opposition could be weakened twofold. Further, all State departments, such as the Treasury, the High Court of Justice, and the Chamber of Commerce, which had come into existence with the arrival of the Royal Family at Rio, were abolished. Finally, the Cortes insisted that the Regent himself must quit Brazil, and, after a Continental tour as a serviceable political education, must return to Portugal.

All this availed only to strengthen an existing feeling of nationalism in the colony. Monarchists, Liberals, Republicans felt themselves drawn together in opposition to the Lisbon Cortes. Movements in favour of Independence increased, one of which had a fortunate issue. The Portuguese troops declared

themselves against the scheme, formed an armed camp, and prepared to act. But a conflict was judiciously avoided; the men were induced to embark for home, as a condition of receiving three months' pay in advance, and were thus opportunely got rid of. Soon after a naval squadron arrived from Lisbon to convey the Prince Regent to Portugal. There was some show, real or simulated, of his embarking. Instantly Rio was in a commotion. Crowds besieged the royal palace, entreating him not to desert them; deputations bound on a similar errand hurried in from all parts of the country. The squadron had to return without him. Following this there was formed a Council of Representatives, which bestowed upon the Regent the title of Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil; he on his part calling upon the people to unite, and use force if necessary, for the great work of Independence. On December 1, 1822, he was crowned, not King, but Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil.

While, in regard to this great colony, the Lisbon Cortes were displaying a recklessness amounting to imbecility, that assembly, by its intemperate procedure in home affairs, was no less palpably putting the seal to its own doom. John VI. arrived in the Tagus early in July, 1821. Instead of the outburst of welcome with which he expected to be received, he was met by a deputation of the Cortes, who informed him that, before landing, he must swear to accept the changed order of government, and must afterwards repeat his oath in presence of the assembly. Already, in his absence, he had been treated with no small contumely. A most infamous debate had on one occasion taken place in the Cortes, when some deputies proceeded to the length of discussing the paternity of his children. Now he was kept waiting three days in the harbour, while several members of his suite, known or presumed to be hostile to those exercising authority, were separated from him and directed to take up their residences at a distance from the capital. Such affronts were viewed with no small indignation by a people at heart loyally inclined. It need scarcely be added that the nobles naturally resented the possession of all political power by an inferior class, and that the clergy, many of whom had been rabbled by mobs, were well aware that further spoliation awaited them at the hands of these democrats. Popularity, and thus support, was soon deserting such a Chamber, becoming powerless, indeed a laughing-stock, in regard to Brazil, as it continued to despatch to Rio decrees

declaring that the Assembly there was illegal, that its members were traitors, that the Prince must hand over his usurped government to a Junta which would be sent out, and other similar instructions equally impossible of enforcement.

It was not until nearly fifteen months after the return of the King that the new Portuguese Constitution, above referred to, was finally promulgated. He, compliantly enough, in October, 1822, swore to observe it, but the Queen flatly, defiantly refused to take any such oath. The King expostulated; the Cortes threatened: all in vain. A decree thereupon declared that she had forfeited her whole rights as Queen-consort, and must quit the Court. She obeyed; not, however, in silence, for she proclaimed to all who had access to her that the King was utterly unfit to occupy a throne, and that she would rather see the streets of Lisbon swimming with blood than the continuance of such a Constitution. Scarcely less openly she incited the unduteous Miguel to place himself in antagonism to his father, and to proceed even to the extreme of a dethronement by force. The Prince, whom a strangely ardent affection bound to his mother, required little urging; for in the fierce wrangles ever taking place between the King and his Consort he was always to be seen siding with the Queen, and in the rudest possible manner.

Thus encouraged, Dom Miguel soon had an opportunity of taking a more leading part. In February, 1823, Count Amarante attempted a rising, in order, as he proclaimed, to free the country from the yoke of the Cortes, religion from its enemies, and the King from his bondage. It was a failure; but by May some regiments were plainly showing a disposition to act against the Government. One in this way infected was ordered out of Lisbon. Miguel, on the night of the 27th, followed in disguise and placed himself at its head; then the whole garrison joined in the movement. The King made a show of denouncing his rebellious son by an edict, three days later, which proclaimed "As a father I cast him off; as a monarch I shall know how to punish him." That same night, overcome by fear, he too secretly quitted the capital, and from Villa Franca disavowed the Constitution which he had sworn to observe, declaring it to be "illegal and incompatible with good government." Then, on June 5th, accompanied by Miguel's troops and amidst shouts for an "Absolute King," he returned to Lisbon. The vacillating King was next induced to allow Miguel to appoint himself Commander-in-Chief, a

position which he proceeded to take advantage of to usurp practically the whole Executive. He declared against a new constitutional form of Government which his father, before returning to Lisbon, had promised to establish. He continued to arrest, in a wholesale way, partisans of the late Cortes—that is to say, all opponents to the arbitrary, absolute rule which he was intent on exercising. Thus, during some months of confusion and disorder, Portugal was under the military dictatorship of Miguel, while the King became a nonentity, almost a prisoner in his palace.

After nearly a year of this misrule, the representatives of the Powers took action. Under their intervention the King, in May, 1824, sought refuge upon a British man-of-war, the *Windsor Castle,* then lying in the Tagus. Dom Miguel now submitted, and was sent out of the country after a partial white-washing—that is to say, a royal manifesto set forth his conduct as arising from perfidious advisers, and as opposed to a naturally good and obedient disposition. Quit of this model of filial propriety, the King attempted a like procedure with his Queen. She too was ordered to leave Portugal : she refused, pleading ill-health and demanding a trial—in short, she remained where she was. The remainder of John VI.'s reign was comparatively uneventful. The Independence of Brazil, which was recognised in 1825, and the framing of a new Constitution, gave rise to much heated controversy and endless intrigues, for they affected other European Powers, particularly Great Britain and France ; and it was perhaps the tutelage of the former that contributed most to prevent further civil strife. The King died on March 10, 1826, having a few days previously nominated a Regency and placed at the head of it his third daughter, Isabel Maria.

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CHAPTER VI

FERDINAND VII

THE government of Spain, if it could be said to exist during the French occupation, was last touched upon at a point where a Regency had been chosen, as an interim measure until a National Cortes could be convened. At this period, the early part of 1810, the French were overrunning Andalucia almost unopposed, and they soon afterwards besieged Cadiz, where the Cortes were to be assembled. Under these difficult circumstances, French ascendancy perhaps reaching its height during the year, took place the elections which were followed by the framing of the celebrated Spanish Constitution of 1812, destined at the outset to but a brief existence, though later it formed a battle-cry in some of Spain's fiercest civil conflicts. Clamourings for its adoption afterwards resounded in South America, Portugal, Piedmont, and Naples. Plainly, in that large portion of Spain which was in the occupation of the enemy, no elections could be held: a state of affairs which was met by chance voters from the occupied districts, who happened to be in Cadiz, having granted to them an authority to elect members to represent those districts. One important innovation was that the colonies were to be allowed to send deputies to the Cortes; in this instance the number was twenty-eight; but as a prompt assemblage was considered paramount, here again a makeshift procedure had to be resorted to: electors and deputies were taken from colonials whom chance had brought to Cadiz.

These Cortes, assembling in September, 1810, and sitting as a single deliberative body, commenced their labours under circumstances far from auspicious. On the landward side of the city a bombardment was in progress; within the walls yellow fever was claiming victim after victim; there was necessarily a general inexperience, and an inevitable tendency

in debate to drift into side-channels. Projects by the score, many of vital importance, many others of childish insignificance, sprang up for discussion, during a very brief period of time. There were some violent scenes; and the sittings had occasionally to be abruptly closed. Nevertheless, on the whole, they were marked by a temperate earnestness. There was an anti-reform party, certainly, which later developed into one of uncompromising reaction: its members were named "Serviles." To the latter attached themselves the clerical orders, quickly aroused to fierce hostility at any proposal of appropriating to purposes of State the vast ecclesiastical revenues of the country. The forces of Reaction and Reform, arrayed against each other everywhere in Europe, now commenced a particularly envenomed and long drawn-out struggle in Spain. Of the decrees which emanated from these Cortes, it may be sufficient to note that the Regency was continued as an executive body, and that the King was forbidden either to contract a marriage or conclude a treaty while in a state of captivity.

The Spanish Constitution of 1812 was promulgated in March of that year. A hereditary Monarchy, it need hardly be stated, was to be the form of government; at the same time it was plainly set forth that the sovereignty of the kingdom rested with the people, and with them the right to give laws to the land. From the succession were excluded Francisco de Paula and Maria Louisa, brother and sister of Ferdinand, on account of their partisanship for Napoleon: the former, moreover, was generally believed to be a son of Godoy. The Cortes were to sit as a single body, the deputies to be chosen one for every seventy thousand inhabitants. The colonies were to be duly represented. A standing Committee, of seven members of the Cortes, was to represent them when not sitting, and report any infraction or evasion of the Constitution. There was to be a Ministry with the usual divisions as to Finance, Army, and so forth. The Roman Catholic religion was to be paramount; the exercise of all others was forbidden. The education of children was held to be necessary. A full freedom was granted as to printing and publishing, except in regard to religion.

These Cortes were to be renewed every two years, and no deputy was eligible for re-election until another Cortes had intervened. Ministers had no seats. Notwithstanding the chance way in which the Cortes had been brought together, and the fact that they represented only a fraction of the country, the new Constitution forbad, before the expiry of eight years,

any alterations or additions to it. Church dignitaries and nobles could, we see, claim no voice in State affairs, though the clergy were eligible for election. Much more significant was the circumscription of the royal authority. In regard to a dissolution, proroguing or adjournment of the Cortes ; or to the exercise of a veto ; as to treaties and alliances ; the land and the sea forces ; the appointment of bishops and judges ; the composition of the Council of State : in all these the King was to be little more than the Executive of the Cortes. The successors of Ferdinand and Isabella were henceforth to be mere figureheads.

We know how, by the end of the year 1813, that star in whose brightness Napoleon had so trusted was seemingly low towards its setting. Wellington had pushed over the western Pyrenees and was combating the French on their own soil ; the allies were crossing the Rhine on their march towards Paris. The Emperor, while there was yet hope that he could maintain himself upon his throne, made a dexterous move in relation to Spain. Affairs there were plainly past retrievement ; but by releasing the Princes, Ferdinand and Carlos, still in confinement at Valençay, and by making it a condition of his doing so that peace should be declared, and that the British army now in alliance with Spain should return to its own country, as well as the French army to France, obviously his position would be greatly strengthened. This he sought to effect ; and, with a characteristic disregard of truth, he did not hesitate to represent the British to Ferdinand as fomenters of Jacobinism, as anarchists, even as intent upon setting up a republic within the Peninsula.

This Prince, during the six years of his captivity, though enjoying full personal liberty, had been kept in darkness as to much that had passed in Europe. He had been surrounded by the secret agents, female as well as male, of Napoleon, to whom, of course, all details of the Prince's doings and sayings, even his thoughts, it may be said, had been duly reported. He at first honourably protested against being a party to a transaction which, in effect, would have been tantamount to a rude rebuff to the British, the allies who had been so prodigal in his behalf of their lives and their wealth. Shortly, tempted in part by the prospect of an immediate release, he agreed to a treaty, of which the main stipulations were that the Emperor would recognise Ferdinand as King of Spain, that the British and French troops were to be withdrawn concurrently from the

country, and that those Spanish officials who had occupied civil and military posts, under Joseph, might be permitted to return to them unmolested. The whole tenor of the treaty was a reassertion of French influences.

But the Spanish Government refused to bind the country to any such terms. It rejected the treaty ; taking its stand upon the fact, that the Cortes had decreed that any attempt at an exercise of authority, on the part of Ferdinand, while in a state of captivity, would be held to be null and void. A much more significant step was soon taken. The Cortes, on February 2, 1814, issued a memorable decree relative to Ferdinand's return. He was not to be regarded as King until, in the presence of the Cortes, he had taken the oath prescribed by the new Constitution. He must return unaccompanied by any Spaniards who had been connected, officially, either with Napoleon or his brother Joseph. Even French servants were forbidden to be in attendance on him. The route by which he was to journey to Madrid was laid down, and Generals holding commands towards the frontier were directed to see that the prescribed course was adhered to. There was to be no mistake as to this decree being brought to Ferdinand's notice ; or as to his receiving a copy of the Constitution of 1812, which the President of the Regency himself was to place in his hands.

Napoleon in the end decided upon releasing Ferdinand, altogether without further conditions on his part. He quitted Valençay on the 13th of March ; yet before he did so agents were at work both there and in Spain intriguing to place him upon the throne, hampered as little as might be by the Cortes. He then entered the country surrounded by many of those advisers who had been about him during the plottings and scandals which had preceded his journey to Bayonne. Now for the elaborate precautionary measures of the Government. At the frontier he was indeed informed as to the itinerary prescribed for him : he proceeded by another of his own choosing. A copy of the Constitution was duly presented to him : he evaded at first declaring his intentions in regard to it : presently by edict he flatly refused to take the prescribed oath ; at the same time a root and branch sweeping out of Constitution and Cortes was declared, together with all the Acts of the latter since their first installation at Cadiz.

This Ferdinand was able to do, chiefly because it had been at once plainly evident that to the bulk of the Spanish people he remained their idol. The Constitution indeed, in its entirety,

was impolitic and impracticable: the people instinctively rejected it, at the same time that they prostrated themselves at the feet of the King, blindly regardless of the character of the man into whose hands they were now placing unlimited power. The predominant feeling was one of joy at his return, at a restoration of Monarchy in person. These flames of enthusiasm were assiduously fanned, by a discontented nobility and an all-powerful reactionary priesthood. Apparently, there were no limits to the extremes to which some opponents of all reform were prepared to proceed. From the Cortes itself had been despatched, to meet the King, a deputation which took upon itself to remind him that in Persia, in days of old, a period of unrestrained general excess was permitted between the death of one monarch and the commencement of the reign of his successor. Ferdinand was now humbly asked to consider the six years of his absence as merely a similar interval of national revel. The members of this embassy were afterwards known as "The Persians."

The decree, just spoken of as purposing to consign to oblivion the whole work of the Cortes, was signed on May 4, 1814, at Valencia, where the King made a somewhat protracted stay. It was published six days later, simultaneously with the perpetration of a masterstroke of treachery. In one night all the avowed Constitutionists in the Regency, in the Council of State and the Cortes, upon whom hands could be laid, were seized and conveyed to prison. Other arrests included mere partisans of the new Constitution, as well as members of the late Cadiz Cortes; there having been fresh elections before the Government moved from there to Madrid. On the day following this arbitrary act the fickle population, who had already everywhere shattered to fragments the Constitution Stones, collected outside the prison and by their shouts and gestures indicated, unmistakably, what the fate of these unfortunate men would be if handed over to them.

The promises as to the French were not merely broken: thousands of that community, including women and children, were by a single decree expelled from the land, and thus in many instances reduced to actual beggary. The Inquisition was restored at the special request of some exalted prelates; and Ferdinand gave proof of his gratification at that step by personally attending the trials, by visiting the prisons and announcing the facts in the *Gazette*. Printing presses ceased to work, except in the furtherance of a despotic absolute sway.

Censorship and education generally were in the hands of the priests ; a nunnery was usually also a girls' school. The Church property which had been sold was restored to its former owners, without compensation to purchasers. The suppressed convents were soon tenanted as before ; the clergy increased rapidly in numbers, at the same time that stringent regulations were enforced in regard to the observance of public worship ; several miracles were reported. The old pernicious bureaucratic Councils and all local governing bodies were reconstituted as they had existed before 1808. The six years since that date, it was publicly decreed, were to be erased from the history of Spain as if they had never existed. The Jesuits were not long in reappearing upon the scene.

Apostolicals, ultra-Royalists, men who had already shown themselves, or were well known to be, devoted to these reactionary measures, the friends of Ferdinand's early manhood, the associates of the Escurial, Bayonne, and Valençay days either had places in his Ministries or were his most favoured counsellors. He frequently spent his evenings in the midst of a Camarilla much more disreputable, where even bull-fighters and the palace servants were to be found. Nor was this merely the indulgence of a taste for low company. Not only scandal, and the laxities or eccentricities of certain personages, formed the flow of the converse at these congenial meetings. Here were discussed State affairs : here originated the dismissal of several ministers.

It has already been told how the net of arrest had been thrown, silently and perfidiously, around as many as possible of the chief members or supporters of the late Government. The highest judicial body in the country was now consulted as to the processes to which these men could be rendered subject ; but Ferdinand, much to his chagrin, was informed that no legal culpability attached to them. Nothing daunted, he appointed a series of special Commissions for their trial. Even these, containing avowed enemies of the accused, were so impressed with the wrongfulness of the procedure that they either said so or sought by protractions to avoid formulating a condemnation. Finally, a decision was given that there was no case against the prisoners. Hereupon Ferdinand, after the accused had been twenty months in confinement, assumed the power to pronounce sentence himself. Some were sent to the African penal settlements, others to undergo various terms of imprisonment, in each case up to eight years. Amongst the former were the distinguished orator Argüelles and the ex-minister Herreros.

These, and other persecutions and seizures on a wholesale scale of all who professed liberal ideas, no matter what their station; the ready credence and the favours accorded to informers; the venality of most of the judges; the mockery of trials from which men were hurried off, without appeal, no one knew whither; the house-to-house searchings which had been instituted; the reintroduction of torture—all these in combination could but lead to some violent explosion. Yet the upheaval was slow, and during six years only showed its movement in some military outbreaks. Mina in the autumn of 1814 aimed, with the aid of the men he commanded, at the seizure of Pampluna and at making it the centre of an uprising against the Government. The attempt was premature, and its author was fortunate in escaping to France. A year later Porlier actually gained possession of Corunna, and after a proclamation of the Constitution of 1812 found himself at the head of several hundred men. Here again the time was found to be not yet ripe for a general insurrection, and Porlier's temerity cost him his life. It is to be noted that these two commanders, the former especially, had rendered valuable services to their country during the Peninsular War. In Madrid itself a plot made some headway in 1816, having for its object the seizure of the King, who was then to be compelled to swear to uphold the Constitution of 1812. This proved abortive: Richard, with whom it originated, was executed, as was Lacy, also a Peninsular officer of distinction, for an attempt in 1817 to raise a revolt in Catalonia. Finally, in the following year Vidal met a like fate for attempting to free Valencia from the barbarous and incessant cruelties of Elio.

Still, the bulk of the nation, asleep to the fact that their fate was in the hands of venal ministers, arbitrarily appointed and dismissed by a Camarilla known in Madrid as the Buffoon Parliament, remained quiescent, assured by their priests that all enemies of the Catholic religion, all Freemasons and other impious Republicans were undergoing annihilation. It was thus only after five or six years of Ferdinand's oppressive rule that Spain passed into a state of acute convulsion: a period, however, during which brigandage had attained to fearful conditions, thus preventing a collection of much of the revenue, a matter which, coupled with the cessation of remittances from America, rendered the Government more impotent still, for loans from abroad were found to be impracticable. The salaries of Civil servants were years in arrear. The army was left

practically unpaid, and frequently unfed: the officers, angered at the prevailing system of Court favouritism in regard to promotion, had enrolled themselves by the hundred, together with their men, in the various secret societies which had been formed with a view to overthrowing the existing tyrannous domination. By 1820 the country was in the throes of an ominous military insurrection.

During the previous year a force, numbering over twenty thousand men, was being prepared in the vicinity of Cadiz for shipment to America. Warfare there had by this time lasted ten years, and the stories of its hardships, its terrible nature and general hopelessness, as related by the wounded, emaciated, fever-stricken soldiers crowding the Cadiz hospitals, did much to add to the aversion with which service in that country was already regarded. Amongst unpaid soldiers, of whom many were being detained beyond their proper period of service, of whom others were young and undisciplined, it is not surprising that a mutinous spirit should have manifested itself. The force might perhaps have been embarked had the necessary transports been available. During the delay emissaries from the trans-atlantic provinces in revolt, aided by the intrigues of Cadiz Liberals, were at work. Many officers had soon sworn to abet the movement, and it was believed that Henry O'Donnell, who was in command, would head it. He, on the contrary, baffled it by changing the Cadiz garrison, which was composed of the regiments most disaffected. With the relieving troops he marched against those lately in garrison, now in quarters at Palmar. He arrested many of the senior officers, and seemingly the affair was strangled. This occurred in July, 1819.

O'Donnell's action, nevertheless, was open to a variety of suspicions: at all events he was relieved of his command, which was given to Calderon, an officer who no longer retained the energies such a juncture demanded. The sailing of the expedition was next further delayed by an outbreak of yellow fever, necessitating a distribution of its units amongst various out-stations extending from Cadiz to Seville. Again the same agencies as before were busy fomenting sedition. Moreover, the officers arrested by O'Donnell had not only not been brought to trial or ordered elsewhere, they were now to be found the most active amongst those inciting to another insurrection. Leaders were forthcoming in Riego, destined soon to be playing a signal part in Spanish affairs, and in Quiroga, who now easily enough evaded the arrest he was under for the previous attempt.

Several regiments were quickly at the disposal of Riego, who succeeded in surprising and capturing Calderon, together with other senior officers, at Arcos on January 2, 1820. He then joined Quiroga, who had attempted to gain possession of Cadiz, which, it was expected, would throw in its lot with the movement. Whatever may have been the disposition of a portion of the inhabitants and garrison, the Governor was able to shut the gates in the face of the insurgents and keep them at a distance.

Riego at the end of the month attempted, by starting on a march through Andalucia, to obtain an accession of enthusiasm for the cause. Some officers and men very readily joined him, others held aloof. So with the towns; some furnished him with supplies, others received him coldly. Columns were despatched in pursuit of him; the high spirits in which his little band of fifteen hundred started began to evaporate; day by day the companies dwindled away: finally, with his following reduced to a mere handful of ragged, hungry, disheartened men, a dispersal took place in the second week in March north-westwards of Cordova. Quiroga, who had entrenched himself upon the little arm of land that juts out into the sea with Cadiz at its extremity, found his endeavours equally paralysed by the presence of an encircling hostile force on the adjacent mainland. Seemingly once more had been suffocated the attempts to overthrow absolutism, to reintroduce the Constitution of 1812, to cause the assemblage of popularly elected Cortes, and to free Ferdinand from his despicable ring of advisers. As yet he himself, outside the capital, still maintained his place in the affections of his people.

Nevertheless, these were the beginnings of a revolution which soon swept from end to end of the Peninsula. By March the whole of Galicia was in a state of insurrection; historic Saragossa and Barcelona had risen: the movement was everywhere gaining strength. In most instances the army led the way, the civil authorities joined hands with them, and a fickle, excitable populace flocked around. The priesthood in the main held aloof, and naturally, for the restoration of the Liberals to power meant a speedy shattering of clerical rule. Juntas were everywhere formed; military chiefs were not slow to seize the occasion; Mina assumed the leadership in Navarre; O'Donnell, directed by the King to take over an important command, made use of the opportunity to head an outbreak amongst the troops at Ocaña, forty miles from the capital.

In Madrid these blows fell with a stunning force upon the affrighted King and his surrounding of prelates, venal advisers, and utterly incompetent ministers. The public demonstrations there at once assumed most determined aspects: lukewarm citizens were forced to go down on their knees and kiss the book of the Constitution, which made the tour of the streets honoured equally with the Host. Men were to be seen busying themselves with the replacing of the Liberty slabs. The palace guards were known to be infected with the common contagion. Rumours of every description, gathering strength, no doubt, from fear, as to the hostile intentions of the populace passed current amongst the terrified members of the Court. Soon the King was wrought into such a state of alarm that he was ready to make promises of any kind, was prepared to grant anything that the mob might demand.

Early in March, 1820, events began to run ahead at true revolutionary speed. On the 7th the *Gazette* announced that the Cortes would be assembled, on the 8th that the King had decided, by restoring the Constitution of 1812, to gratify the general wishes of his people. A release of all political prisoners was granted: the exiles were permitted to return to their homes. A memorable day was the 9th. Enormous crowds, in transports of enthusiasm, were to be seen surging through streets and squares into the outer courts of the palace itself, where the guards offered no opposition. A distinct list of demands was there submitted to the King, at the hands of delegates chosen by the people. Firstly, the Madrid Municipality was to be reconstituted, in order that Ferdinand might in their presence swear to carry out the Constitution. He himself bowed from a window to the excited multitude, which afterwards, with no less animated outbursts of feeling, flocked into the Hall of the Ambassadors to witness the actual oath-taking by their Sovereign. Another concession was the appointment of a Provisional Committee, charged, in short, to supervise the acts of the Government until the Cortes could commence their sittings. Another was the abolition of the Inquisition. Not long afterwards the National Militia was reinstated. Thus, from institutions and ideas a century behind those prevailing in some other States, Spain was made to leap at a bound to a century in advance of them. The army in the main had brought this about: a portion of it had, moreover, refused to proceed on active service abroad: its leaders clearly saw in it a means of mounting at a flight to the most exalted positions.

These were scarcely good omens for a country in need, above all things, of political quiet and gradual reforms.

This sudden transformation had, with one exception, been effected unaccompanied by outrages or bloodshed. The exception was a terrible occurrence at Cadiz. Here, a chief centre of advanced ideas, the news of the various risings had been exulted in to the full amidst street illuminations, bonfires, and the ringing of church bells. On the 10th of March the Constitution was to be proclaimed and sworn to, the authorities having submitted to the inevitable. A Constitution Stone had been set up, and envoys from Quiroga's encampment had just been received with the wildest enthusiasm. While matters were thus proceeding, amidst a vast multitude, excited to transports of jubilation, two regiments were marched into the square of San Antonio, the scene of these preparations, and they suddenly, without a word of warning, commenced firing volleys into the crowd. The panic-stricken fugitives were then followed into the adjacent streets by the soldiers, and this inhuman massacre was continued for about six hours. Several hundred men, women, and children were killed or wounded, either on that day or the following one, when a second sanguinary outburst occurred. The origin of this deplorable onslaught has never been satisfactorily brought to light.

One singular result of this constitutional upheaval was that amongst Ferdinand's new ministers, headed by Argüelles, were some of the very men whom he had of his own despotic will sent to prisons or the galleys. Though they attempted a rule of moderation, there were signs from the first that this would not prove very practicable. The Press was free, and indulged itself to the full in Jacobinism, personalities, and indecency. The harangues of the orators of the clubs and patriotic societies ran to similar excesses. The clergy were helpless spectators to the forcing of the gates of the Inquisition buildings, the release of the prisoners, and the breaking up of the instruments of torture. The army had to be considered: it was accordingly declared to have merited well of a grateful country: the most conspicuous leaders in the late Cadiz revolt were all advanced in rank. The great danger, however, a most insidious one, lay in the King himself. It was soon whispered that he was lending ear to a Palace party. Significantly, an Apostolic Junta commenced its machinations about this period. The Constitution had been forced down Ferdinand's throat, but he had by no means digested it: in truth, it was equally unpalatable to a large

majority of his subjects. His distemper was inevitable : the relief which he sighed for he sought at the hands of his abettors of 1814. When his ministers obtained clear proof of this, all confidence was at an end.

The Cortes assembled in July. They were composed in chief of well-meaning men, of enthusiasts, of fervid orators ; but of men qualified by experience or temperament to deal with so great a national crisis few sat in them. There were several members of the Cortes of 1812 : many more who had been prominent in the late revolutionary scenes, including a considerable sprinkling of ardent young men, who imagined that the regeneration of their country could be effected only by a course of extreme radical measures. To the colonies were allotted thirty members ; as a temporary arrangement, substitutes were chosen from South Americans resident in the country. Very weighty proposals were quickly under discussion. Those dealing with abuses in the Church, the mismanagement of its property, its misapplied wealth, the excessive number of priests, were subjects which necessarily brought into activity the ready weapons of the confessional and the pulpit. There ensued a general refusal to obey the order that the Constitution was to be read, and advocated, in churches and schools. Other measures requiring very considerate handling, and sure to stir up the most virulent animosities, related to entails and mortmains, the allowances to members of the Royal Family, the exclusion from the succession of the children of the King's brother, Francis de Paula ; to the Jesuits, the Josephinos, and the " Persians." Add to these the bankrupt state of the Exchequer, and we obtain some idea of the troublous surroundings of this assembly.

Almost at once, during the heated controversies and recriminations of the debates which ensued, there came into existence a party of " Moderados," the Spanish word for Moderates—a Conservative party, it may be termed—the men of 1812 quieting down with the years. They clearly saw that Spain was altogether unprepared for the changes which the " Exaltados," or Ultra-Radicals, the impetuous young men of 1820, were bent upon introducing. The Cortes in truth were far from reflecting the general feelings of the country. The bulk of the nation hoped that it was seconding the abolition of the late humiliating despotism, and the introduction of a constitutional rule ; but there was the reverse of eagerness to accept the 1812 Code, with its sweeping provisions, administered by a section of men of insignificant origin, numbering in their ranks advocates of

Socialism and Communism. That the existing ecclesiastical establishment was a cloak for the grossest abuses the people were well aware; for a vengeful spoliation of that establishment, and the indiscriminate reduction to beggary of a priesthood, many of whose members they saw to be leading blameless, devoted lives, they were certainly not desirous. Thus, by the time that these Cortes were closing their first session in November, though united as against the machinations of the Court, they were stirring up animosities on all sides: a matter of no small exultation to King, nobles, and clergy.

But Ferdinand had, at this juncture, to receive some unmistakable intimations that the day of measure for measure was not yet come. He refused to give his sanction to the decrees against the monastic establishments; and in so doing he acted within his rights, as he held the power of a temporary veto. This had produced a first ebullition, which was quieted on his submitting to the earnest advice of his ministers and assenting to the proposal. Retiring to the Escurial in dudgeon, he intentionally slighted the Cortes by taking no part in the proceedings at their prorogation. He next attempted a wholly unconstitutional act. He deprived of his command the existing Captain-General of New Castile, General Vigodet, a Constitutionist, and appointed in his place General Carvajal, who was known to incline towards reactionary measures. This brought all the revolutionary forces of the capital into play. Crowds assembled, were harangued by extremist leaders, and assumed most menacing aspects. The "Liberty or Death" flags, the processions with figures of Ferdinand led by Justice, the pictures of him shaking hands with the men sent by him to the galleys were again, after a period of obscurity, conspicuous objects in the streets. The Constitution Pillars, some of which had of late been overturned and suffered so to remain, were ostentatiously renovated. Ministers and others in authority implored the King to return to the capital: he did so in the midst of tumultuous threatening crowds, and of uplifted copies of the Constitution, kissed and pressed to the heart by those who held them.

A brief glance at the singular career of Riego throws no small light on the situation. His adventurous attempt to stir up Andalucia has been noticed. A major then, we find him a month or two later commanding the army at Cadiz, in the place of Quiroga, now a prominent member of the Cortes. As the despatch of this force to America was now out of the question,

the Government decided to break it up. Against this the Democrats, in and out of the Cortes, harangued violently. That army, they exclaimed, has given freedom to Spain, it must be kept together to preserve so precious a gain. Riego appeared in the capital, where he thought it seemly to lead the impromptu singing at the theatre of a menacing revolutionary song, the Ça Ira of the period. With the greatest difficulty the Government effected his removal from Madrid, partly by means of a large pension. The populace had made him their idol: the clamour of the clubs and demagogues had to be pacified by his appointment as Captain-General of Aragon.

The menaces, directed against Ferdinand, were fiercer than ever during the early part of the new year, 1821. Crowds assembled almost nightly under the palace windows, singing treasonable songs or giving ironical cheers. In the streets he was assailed even with stones. His body-guard on one occasion retaliated with drawn swords; a national militiaman and a member of the Corporation were wounded, whereupon so great became the outcry against the whole corps that the King had to consent to its disbandment. Of these continuous outrages he made complaint to his Council of State, who retorted that it was his own line of conduct which had brought matters to such a pass. At the opening of the Cortes in March, prompted by his advisers, he took a very rash step. Without informing his ministers, he added to the speech prepared by them his own severe condemnation of the treatment he had received, and concluded by bluntly charging their officials with incapacity in not curbing such tumultuous acts.

A new Ministry succeeded, of which the most noteworthy member was Feliu. It was composed of Moderates, and represented fairly the will of the Cortes and the aspirations of a considerable part of the nation towards reform and progress. But its honest endeavours were futile in the presence of a large body of men whom only the extremest measures would pacify. The King was known to be concerting for foreign intervention: his Serviles, encouraged from France, increased their activity, with a result that several of their bands were soon in the field. The clergy were no less assiduous in their pastorals and sermons: their task was lightened by the yellow fever which this year swept into eternity many thousands of the lower orders; they preached, to ignorant and superstitious minds, that clearly here was a manifestation of Divine wrath overtaking a people crying aloud for the unholy innovations of the Cortes,

The nobles, whose seignorial rights were being encroached upon, naturally threw in their lot with these absolutists. The crushing by Austrian troops of the Italian Revolution, of which a leading feature had been a demand for the Spanish Constitution, added to the general antagonism and unsettlement, as army, navy, freedom of the Press, taxation, tithes, education, universities, schools, were legislated upon in succession. Amidst the strife and confusion caused by all this the Cortes were closed on February 14, 1822.

Elections followed, and nearly everywhere went in favour of the Radicals. Martinez de la Rosa was placed at the head of a new Ministry, a generally good selection drawn from the Moderates. But it was powerless: the King was working in secret to render all legislation inoperative. The Ministry became a mere shuttlecock between Reactionists and Constitutionists, who were confronting one another in attitudes more and more menacing—an antagonism which had already become acute in several of the larger cities, and was rapidly spreading to the remotest parts of the country. The army had as yet stood firm: individual regiments had shown fractiousness, but usually from local disturbing influences. It inclined to respect the Cortes, but did not hesitate to discuss openly the desirability of obeying any orders which it received. Moreover, ill-feeling was constantly manifesting itself between the regular troops and the militia, also between the former when in garrison in Madrid and the Guards. There were, in fact, by the middle of 1822, so many distracting causes at work that feuds between regiments, and within them, were merely symptoms of the increasing convulsions.

A definitely important event was the seizure by a Royalist levy, in June, of Seo d'Urgel, containing sixty guns and a large store of small arms. It gave a headquarters to the numerous guerilla bands in the field in Catalonia, as well as to assistance from France: it was a step towards permitting action by the Powers. Plainly, then, the country was slipping from such control as the Government could exercise. Cadiz and Seville had refused to accept the Governors appointed to them—had, in short, detached themselves from the central authority. Brigadiers and colonels of regiments were working up demonstrations, on their own account, in their immediate commands; whole provinces were being agitated by a call to arms in support of a monarch declared to be the victim of malignant oppression.

Affairs at Madrid soon entered upon an ominous stage. On July 1st four of the six battalions of the Guards there quartered marched out, in the middle of the night, and encamped at the Pardo, a royal residence in the suburbs. Morillo, now Captain-General, went in pursuit of them with a regiment of cavalry; he harangued them, but returned, having effected no change in their attitude. The Cortes had just closed their session, and the only result of the deliberations of the various functioning bodies of the capital was that a conference took place between envoys sent by the mutineers and the King and his ministers. The other troops in garrison, however, regulars and militia, stood firm. At this critical juncture the Cabinet handed in its resignation, which the King refused to accept, stating that as the ministers had created the present situation, they must see it through to an end. This he followed up by detaining them in the palace, their offices being there situated. Their indignation now chafed beyond expression; for they had good evidence, since corroborated, that the King was privy to the whole procedure of the Guards, and was instigating them to further resistance. Be this as it may, the four battalions quartered at the Pardo attempted, on the night of the 6th, in conjunction with the two on duty at the palace, to overpower the rest of the garrison. At the end of an encounter lasting an hour and a half, the venture had proclaimed itself a failure, almost without bloodshed; afterwards, however, when these troops had sallied out of their barracks, rather than submit to be disarmed, they were followed, and a considerable number killed or wounded.

Early in August a wholly Radical Ministry succeeded to office, under San Miguel, and at once installed out and out Constitutionists in the chief commands, as well as throughout the Court. It acted with vigour, if of a somewhat revolutionary type. Elio was sent to the scaffold, and two obscurer victims. Mina recaptured Seo d'Urgel, where a Regency, assuming to act in the name of the King, had established itself; he then pursued with success a fire and sword campaign in Catalonia against the Royalist bands. Ministers were determined to listen to none of the suggestions of the ambassadors of the Powers, regarding a modification of the Constitution, as a possible escape from the desperate standstill condition to which Spain was reduced. The overtures of the Moderates were equally decisively rejected. The King was forbidden to leave Madrid, and was bluntly informed as a reason that his absence

at San Ildefonso would, as on previous occasions, certainly give rise to renewed Apostolical plottings. The Royal Family must remain under the eyes of the Cabinet, which further compelled him, much against his will, to convoke the Cortes in extra session.

But the Government, Radical as it was, found its most vindictive enemies in parties, clubs, and political fanatics more Radical still. To the demands of the Comuneros, the *Sans Culottes* of those days, there were no bounds. A Regency must be established; vast armies must be placed in the field to show a bold front to the menaces of France; war must be declared against that country. From the clubs came clamours for a searching inquiry regarding the whole affair of the Guards, and should members of the Royal Family be found to be implicated in it they must be proceeded against for treason. One most damaging result of speeches and publications of this class was that the prized Constitution had to be suspended, the liberties guaranteed by it placed in abeyance. Exceptional powers were asked from and granted by the Cortes. Arbitrary arrests and domiciliary visits were instituted; lukewarm officials and anti-Constitution priests summarily deprived of their berths. At this juncture, with the King scheming for the advent of a French army, and his Cortes preparing to repel any such invasion, with the government of the country in the hands of a Radical party split up into irreconcilable factions, with a vindictive civil war already ravaging the land, France intervened.

How this came about does not admit of ready condensation. It must be followed through the general history of Europe during the seven years succeeding the downfall of Napoleon; in the aims, fears, and ambitions of the leading sovereigns and statesmen; in the various congresses and conferences of that period. Suffice it that the Powers, Great Britain excepted, were agreed as to the desirability of opposing, by force of arms, all outbursts of peoples clamouring for Constitutions and popular assemblies. The case of Portugal has been dealt with in another chapter; an Austrian army had marched from end to end of Italy, effectually carrying out the above determination; the Sultan of Turkey was exercising a free hand as to the attempted liberation outbreak in Greece. Now, in the early days of 1823, a French army one hundred thousand strong, under the Duke of Angoulême, stood ready to invade Spain.

The exultation of the Royalists at this need not be enlarged

upon. Three years of misrule and distress had strengthened them by many converts from Liberalism. Spaniards, after a period of license, are wont to turn with feelings of affection towards the Throne. No less sensitive are they as to opposing the will of the Holy Father, however ready they may be to take a part in the reformation of their Church at home. Pius VII. had throughout thundered against the Constitution. The Royalists, moreover, had a distinct aim: the restoration of Ferdinand to the absolute position he held before the late revolution. The Liberal leaders, on the other hand, agitators rather than statesmen, though their war-cry might be "The Constitution or Death!" were at daggers drawn amongst themselves. The cities in revolt inclined, in many instances, towards an independent individual line of action. The army, such as it had fallen to, might perhaps be described as ready to uphold the Constitution; but it was jealous of the more Radical National Militia. Had, instead of this invasion, a great civil war taken place, the popularity enjoyed by such leaders as Riego, Morillo, or Mina would probably have drawn some regiments to one, some to another, irrespective of the political cause at stake.

The real danger to the invaders lurked in the chances of one or more of the events of 1808 reproducing themselves: in some high-handed or sanguinary measure on the part of the French evoking, amongst the Spanish people, an ebullition of national pride, leading quickly to deadly hatreds and thirsts for reprisals, which would have dominated all existing factions and passions. Had the guerilla-warfare spirit of the Peninsular days been again aroused, few probably of Angoulême's hundred thousand would have recrossed the Pyrenees. No such catastrophe occurred. Discipline was strictly preserved; rations and other supplies were carefully paid for. Entering Spain in the early part of April, 1823, by the western gate of the Pyrenees, the French army, after a mere nominal resistance at the outset, was at Madrid by the end of May. A smaller force, under General Moncey, passed into the country at the eastern end of the frontier. During this progress, some thirty-five thousand men of various classes, who had taken up arms in opposition to the revolutionary Government, added themselves to the invaders. The most enthusiastic demonstrations of a joy, deep-seated or superficial, everywhere hailed the forward march of these columns.

The whole defence might be termed a fiasco: it collapsed completely with the exception of that of Catalonia, entrusted to

Mina. In addition to his force there were armies, so called, of Galicia and Leon under Morillo, of the centre under Abisbal, and a main army under Ballesteros. These were ill-organised, and were supplied with the essentials to success in glaring contrast to the well-equipped forces of the Duke. The main army simply retired before the French without fighting. Abisbal, to whom fell the defence of the capital, by his half-hearted, if not treacherous, conduct, rendered its surrender inevitable.

Here had occurred some most tumultuous scenes, surging up to the very presence of the King, who had been compelled on March 20th to precede the Cortes to Seville, whither they thought it prudent to retire. He had pleaded illness as an excuse; but a Committee of the Cortes reported on the contrary that the journey could but prove highly beneficial to his health. In his moods of anger he found relief in jotting down the names of those upon whom he trusted some day to wreak his vengeance. Angoulême, in Madrid, was committed to announce that Spain would be trusted to evolve her own government. A Regency was formed, soon afterwards an Apostolical Ministry; and, amidst scenes of the wildest approval, these bodies proceeded to declare null and void all Governmental acts since March, 1820. A new military force came into existence, the Royalist Volunteers, composed of men pledged to support the most reactionary measures. The members of the now disbanded National Militia, and all officials of the fugitive Government, together with every one who had belonged to a secret society, were summarily deprived of posts, pay, pensions, and honours, as well as declared incapable of ever again obtaining public employments. The sales of national and Church property were suspended. The clergy began to intrigue for the re-establishment of the Inquisition. The formation of Juntas of Purification, and of the Society of the Exterminating Angel, sufficiently by their names indicate the fierce spirit of retaliation which was now let loose. This setting back of the clock further carried with it a repudiation of the loans contracted during the late revolutionary period.

Onwards passed the divisions of the French army. From Seville the Cortes retired to Cadiz, and as the King declined this journey also, he was not only obliged to submit, but was in effect temporarily deposed and a Regency appointed. At Cadiz the French were confronted with a somewhat decided opposition from so formidable a fortress, which did not capitulate until the end of September, after a sanguinary assault of the Trocadero, one of its outworks, and a siege lasting two months.

While this was in progress Ferdinand was permitted to communicate with the Duke, who, from the violent deeds of the Royalists at Madrid and also at Seville, as soon as they again had the upper hand, saw clearly that the commonest dictates of humanity demanded some definite guarantees regarding the Constitutionists. It was, however, only at the eleventh hour, and owing to the menacing attitude alike of the troops and the civil population in Cadiz, that Ferdinand promised an oblivion—*completo y absoluto*—of the whole past. To the officers of the Constitutionist army were assured their ranks, pay, pensions, and so forth; the militiamen were to be at liberty to return unmolested to their homes. On October 1st salvoes of artillery upon the shores of the Bay of Cadiz were announcing that the King was issuing from his fortress, to be received by his liberator the Duke of Angoulême. Before the sun set there had been inaugurated another era of barbarous despotism.

The military operations which had place in other parts of the Peninsula claim merely a glance. Morillo, taking a portion of his force with him, quitted his command in Galicia in July and joined the French. San Sebastian, Corunna, Pamplona surrendered before Cadiz; followed not long after by Cartagena and Barcelona. Ballesteros, after a somewhat severely contested engagement, near Granada at the end of July, capitulated. Mina in Catalonia showed his wonted energy and resourcefulness. Moving rapidly, striking suddenly, cutting off convoys, proclaiming his presence where least expected, he gave evidence, until nearly the close of the year, as to what might have been the fate of the French had the bulk of the invaded nation fallen to similar courses. The ever adventurous Riego had in August started upon the last of his flighty enterprises. Quitting Cadiz alone, he placed himself at the head of a force which still held out in Malaga; thence he marched northwards, hoping to draw over to himself the body of men under Ballesteros, who was awaiting a ratification of the terms of his surrender. The troops indeed fraternised, but the commanders fell out, for Ballesteros adhered positively to his engagement. A French force appeared on the scene, Riego with his own small body of men was defeated, captured, and in an unfortunate moment handed over to the Royalists.

To quash utterly the Constitutionists, while giving a free rein to his pent-up malignity, was now the congenial task which Ferdinand, in no lack of aiders and abettors, set about. Some of the measures of the Regency have been alluded to; another

was to condemn to death those deputies who had voted for the deposition of the King and his transfer to Cadiz. All this was readily confirmed by him on his liberation. Riego was executed with every accompaniment of ignominy. During Ferdinand's progress to the capital it was strictly forbidden that any Constitutionist public men should pollute the atmosphere by coming within five leagues of the line of route: an order which extended to deputies, judges, and generals. The decrees of this period bore the counter-signature of Victor Saez, whom the King had appointed to be his Universal Minister as well as his confessor.

A veritable reign of terror was once more established. Military Commissions were convened, whose zeal in discovering offenders was such that several hundreds had soon followed the unfortunate Riego to the scaffold. A State Junta was also nominated, presided over by an inquisitor and holding its sittings in secret; its duty was to prepare lists of the people, classified under various headings, according to the degrees of warmth they had exhibited towards the late revolutionary Government. These bodies were ably assisted in their endeavours by the Royalist Volunteers, and by bands of a kindred force, the Army of the Faith. As to the numbers who thus perished, accurate records are not available, for the authorities were for some subsequent years able to suppress any such damaging revelations. The whole procedure shocked the French, who, though yearning with compassion, found themselves almost powerless. Angoulême had throughout humanely raised his voice against the arbitrary arrests, the fiendish outcries of a bloodthirsty Press, and the deeds of retaliation which followed in the wake of his army corps. He had facilitated the escape of the condemned Regents. In return he was stigmatised as a worse tyrant than Napoleon. He now quitted the country in disgust, leaving ambassadors to implore in vain, and French officers and men to exercise the little power they possessed towards kindness and charity.

Ferdinand reigned ten years more, a period of oppression and persecution towards a cowed people; a time, however, of comparative quiet compared with the revolution and intervention which preceded it, and the Carlist War which followed. Until the early part of 1828 he had the presence of his French visitors; their feelings of mortification and repulsiveness shared more or less by all the Courts of Europe. Honest, sensible, moderate Liberals could play no part. The Cadiz Constitution, which

they had supported or wished to modify, had been weighed in the balance, and was manifestly an impossibility. In the Cortes they had found themselves opposed by an ever-increasing majority, discredited by reason of its ultra and finally revolutionary character. Instincts of self-preservation drove some towards absolutism, others preferred exile, others could but crouch helpless under the fell shadow of the wings of the Exterminating Angel.

No Cortes were convened until the last year of the reign, and then only because Ferdinand desired to make use of them in furtherance of an especial aim of his own. The Ministry and the State Council were usually at feud, a condition which the King frequently encouraged, while he resorted for sympathy to his own private absolutist Camarilla. Yet he had by no means a free hand. If any leniencies in respect to the Liberals were pressed upon him by foreign ambassadors, or moderate statesmen such as Ofalia, Lopez Ballesteros, Cruz or Zea Bermudez, there was an ultra-Apostolical party ever on the alert to circumvent all such lapses. One minister, Calomarde, looms large throughout. After graduating under Godoy, he developed into a Constitutionist and would-be member of the Cadiz Cortes. The Restoration of 1814 found him a Royalist, the revolutionary period preceding 1823 a zealous Liberal. With the arrival of the French he became Secretary to the Regency then established at Madrid; after that a minister and chief confidant of Ferdinand, a position which he enhanced when in 1824, the French having insisted on an amnesty, he so worded it as to exceptions that the meshes of the net around the Liberals were smaller than ever. He deprived the municipalities of the last shreds of their liberties, and was for some time associated in the Cabinet with a no less relentless War Minister, Aymerich.

Necessarily, under such a Government, there were some outbreaks on the part of the Constitutionists, men debarred from all official appointments, and driven to desperation by a variety of purification processes; amongst them were a number of officers and men disbanded without the pensions they had earned, or even their arrears of pay. At Tarifa, in August, 1824, some two hundred refugees landed from Gibraltar, surprised the garrison, and were joined by perhaps two hundred more insurgents from the neighbourhood. A combined Spanish and French force soon showed how reckless the venture had been. All those upon whom hands could be laid were shot. Early in 1826 two brothers Bazan, with a mere handful of men, attempted

a descent upon the coast of Alicante, only to be at once dispersed, followed by an execution of the prisoners. To these and other hopeless ill-conceived enterprises, which only gave excuses for renewed excesses by the Army of the Faith, followed one with fairer chances of success. After the Revolution of 1830 in France, the thousands of Spanish refugees in that country found no small encouragement close at hand. Both there and in England committees were formed to advance their aims. Before the end of the year several columns had crossed the western frontier, the chief under Mina. The undertaking, however, promptly collapsed. It was misdirected; the leaders were at variance; French policy underwent a change; there was no response on the part of the inhabitants of the invaded provinces. These attempts ended, towards the close of 1831, with one particularly tragic. There was still at Gibraltar a party of refugees under a devoted leader, Torrijos, whom the Governor of Malaga deceitfully induced, by promises of armed assistance and full co-operation, to land near that town. They were captured and the whole fifty-two pitilessly shot.

Strange as it may appear, there was, during this very period, a re-grouping of parties occurring; a league of ultra-Apostolicals ranging itself against the King, as not sufficiently heart and soul devoted to extirpating every semblance of Liberalism. He was accused of ingratitude towards the men who had saved him, of being a Constitutionist, of being in league with the secret societies. No statement was too utterly absurd for the lips or the pens of these extremists. With the exception that Ferdinand had refused to re-establish the Inquisition, that there had been some curtailments of the license permitted to the Royalist Volunteers, that the Army of the Faith had been disbanded, or that even he now and again perceived that there must be some limit to excess, it is indeed difficult to trace any such changed tendencies. This new party, largely a clerical one, averse to the smallest forgiveness or concessions to the vanquished, found in the King's brother Carlos a prince of the fullest promise, a leader the desire of their hearts. In this way "Carlism" had its rise.

Nor did these ultras limit themselves to scheming, to the pulpits, or their Press. In Aragon, in May, 1824, a fanatic, Capapé, assisted by the Captain-General, was working up a movement in favour of the Inquisition, when it was discovered, and, further, that it had been encouraged by Don Carlos himself. Capapé was tried and acquitted. At Brihuega, not far from

Madrid, Bessières, a senior Spanish General, next year headed a much larger rising against what he proclaimed to be the relapsing tendencies of the Court. Some mystery hangs over the affair, as Ferdinand took unexpected action in having Bessières hurriedly executed. There were other similar movements, undoubtedly in part instigated by the higher clergy, who were bent on again setting up the Inquisition, and some of whom would seemingly have attended with much zest an *Auto-da-fé*.

It now seemed expedient to Ferdinand to maintain himself by keeping alive the rivalry between these two monarchical parties, a policy in which he was ably assisted by Calomarde, who generally contrived, however unscrupulously, to find out what was going on in either camp. Nevertheless, so eager and active were the Pure Royalists, as they termed themselves, so influential certain ecclesiastics, so easily worked upon the ignorant, superstitious lower orders, that in 1827 a near approach to a general civil war was inaugurated in Catalonia. On the banners of these fanatics were inscribed the words "Religion. King. Inquisition." From the pulpits the cause was pronounced to be of Divine origin. One faction proclaimed the necessity of immediately dethroning Ferdinand and placing the crown on the head of Don Carlos, who himself was asseverating his loyalty to his brother, yet hanging behind the scenes where the community to which he was destined to give a lasting name thus began to play their parts.

Manresa, Vich, Tarragona, and other towns fell under the domination of these irreconcilables, who, not content that all education should be in the hands of Jesuits and monks, were now in arms against their Sovereign because he would not, in effect, rule sufficiently despotically; to restrain him from allowing even the smallest sparks of enlightenment, of toleration, or of relaxation in persecution to flicker in any part of the kingdom. Juntas were formed, and some thirty battalions placed on a war footing. As the leaders of the movement continued to assert that a first essential duty was to liberate Ferdinand from the duress in which he was held by the Constitutionists, and from acting under French compulsion, he himself proceeded to the districts in ferment: a prudent measure which soon had quieting results. After no great amount of contention or bloodshed, the towns surrendered, the bands dispersed or gave themselves up.

The sequel, however, was appallingly vile and reprehensible. The Count de España, a ruthless monster, had been entrusted

with the command of the troops despatched to the scene. The operations in the field at an end, he proceeded to execute with barbarous ferocity many of the chief instigators of the rebellion, some at least of whom were under the impression that by surrendering at discretion they were entitled to the royal clemency. From the arbitrary manner, however, in which victims were selected, it seems fairly certain that many of them, instead of being the most culpable, were those who had it most in their power to compromise Calomarde himself, as well as other personages of the Court circle. This savagery the Count followed up, in the same quarter, by atrocities more cruel still and on a wider scale directed against the Liberals, many of whom had rendered him useful service in putting down the late rebellion. Of the sufferers thus sent to the gallows, to the African penal settlements, or to loathsome prisons, numbers were first of all enticed to commit themselves by España's agents; then, with a specious show of justice, they had allotted to them advocates who were to defend them at their trials, but who were in reality acting in collusion with the Count to obtain convictions.

From this kingdom, over which hung so many threatening clouds, Ferdinand was removed by death in September, 1833. Certain events, notably his last marriage and other precursors to the Carlist War, are reserved for the chapter on that subject under which they more fitly fall. Of him, as of the Inquisition which found such favour in his eyes, it is indeed difficult to say anything not condemnatory. He was throughout his life, be it granted, confronted by a succession of intricate, hazardous situations, to deal with which he had by nature few adequate qualifications. The Constitution of 1812, which he so unhesitatingly extinguished, he may be credited with having seen to be adapted neither to the upper nor lower classes. He may well have concluded that the bulk of the politicians, whom 1812 and 1820 brought into prominence, were not the type of men to whom should be entrusted the welfare of a State. He had witnessed many times the clamourings of vast multitudes hailing him as King Absolute; investing him spontaneously with the fullest despotic powers. He was aided and abetted, more or less, by most of his great contemporary rulers. Yet, taking all this into consideration, throughout his vicissitudes, as Crown Prince, as Napoleon's puppet, or as monarch restored by a faithful, hoping nation, there runs ever a main thread of tortuous double-dealing.

Ferdinand, by promises which he had no intention of fulfilling, induced the people at large, on his return from France, to grant him a free hand. This meant death to many, years of exile to many more. It has been seen how the amnesty, proclaimed after his second liberation, was purposely so framed that there should be no exemptions for those whom he was bent upon sending to the gallows. To this habitual deceit, to Ferdinand personally, was it in a great measure owing that Spanish America remained so persistently hostile. Men there saw plainly what the future of the colonies and their own fate would be if they laid down their arms trusting to the faith of such a king. We have shown how he compelled his judges to condemn against their openly avowed convictions. In such cases he would brook no delay : he was cruelly eager to award the sentences with his own hand. Almost in the same breath with which he assured his ministers that the Constitution was having his most strenuous support, he was personally encouraging his Guards, engaged around the palace in sanguinary conflict against Constitutionist troops. By a strange irony of fate, not the least of the embarrassments of the latter part of Ferdinand's troubled reign were the machinations set to work against him as lapsing into ways of humaneness and toleration.

CHAPTER VII

DOM MIGUEL

JOHN VI., King of Portugal, died, as we have seen, somewhat suddenly in March, 1826. Who was to succeed him? This was the question which shortly convulsed the whole kingdom, and afterwards led to a war of nearly two years' duration. The deceased King's eldest son was Pedro, reigning as Emperor of Brazil; his other son the hopelessly unprincipled Miguel. The Emperor's eldest daughter was Maria da Gloria, now seven years of age. These three royal personages, together with John VI.'s widow, the imperious, revengeful Carlotta Joaquina, engrossed no small amount of the attention of Europe during the eight years, eventful to Portugal, included in this chapter.

Brazil, in most unmistakable terms, had been separated from Portugal—that is to say, the Constitution of the former country laid it down that the two crowns were never to rest on the same head. Pedro elected to retain that of Brazil: consequently he surrendered his claim to that of Portugal. But had he, in doing so, any legal power to decree that his successor in the latter kingdom should be his daughter Maria? This power at all events he claimed, together with others, and the result was a war of succession; though, in addition, the contest involved the question whether Portugal should become a constitutionally governed country, or should fall into the hands of an absolutist ruler. This succession difficulty had necessarily for some years occupied the attention of the Cabinets of Europe, and John had been urged, particularly by Great Britain, to exercise the authority he possessed, as head of his House in both its branches, towards an avoidance of that very strife which now arose. Death came to him in the state of indecision and feeble-mindedness in which he had lived. No expression of his desires had been recorded. He had indeed

mystified the situation in appointing his daughter, Isabel Maria, to be President of a Regency. This body was to assume the Executive during the absence of his "legitimate heir and successor," who, however, was not specified by name.

It is to be noted that the Regency shortly proclaimed this heir to be his eldest son Pedro, reigning in Brazil, and that when news of the death came to Rio, there, too, he was regarded as King of Portugal, should he so decide. Further, when the Princess Regent wrote announcing to her brother Miguel, then at Vienna, the death of their father, the Prince's words in reply ran, "Legitimate heir and successor, our well-beloved brother the Emperor of Brazil." This is to be borne in mind, because Miguel's partisans were soon vehemently contending that Pedro, from the fact of his having four years before become Emperor of Brazil, had not only forfeited all right to the crown of Portugal, but had become a foreigner, an alien, with no more right to interfere in the succession question than, say, the King of the Sandwich Islands. It is to be noted, too, that John had excluded his Queen from any position in the Regency: no insignificant slight to a woman in whose head were ever running ambitious schemes for her own exaltation.

After a period of anxious expectation, the Portuguese were presented with a solution of the problem which was absorbing so much of their attention. There arrived in the Tagus, on July 2, 1826, a vessel bringing a memorable document—Pedro's Charter—his decrees as to the future of Portugal, its line of succession, its Constitution and government. He himself elected to remain Emperor of Brazil. The throne of Portugal he abdicated in favour of his daughter, Maria da Gloria, with the condition attached that she should marry Miguel, her uncle. The form of government prescribed by the Charter resembled, in its leading features, that of Great Britain; indeed, since it was brought from Brazil by Sir Charles Stuart, it was by many regarded as having been formulated in London. There was to be a House of Peers and an elected Chamber of Deputies, a free Press and liberty of petition. An absolute veto, the creation of Peers, powers as to dissolution and to choose or dismiss ministers, were rights reserved to the Sovereign, who was to be assisted by a Council of State, the members of which were to be nominated for life by the Crown.

This was somewhat of a bolt from the blue to fall on a country which, since the subsidence of the Miguelite tumults, had been in the hands of a knot of fawners and schemers,

caballing, mainly as reactionists, in and about the antechambers of an ever vacillating king. The Infanta now presiding over the Regency, though well-intentioned and honestly desirous of carrying out her brother's wishes, was unfortunately without the vigour, mental or physical, necessary to so hazardous a position. Not unnaturally a State paper so weighty required some little time for consideration, that some preliminary measures should be taken before revealing its full purport to the people. The delay brought at once to the front a bluff, honest soldier, destined to be associated, no less in adversity than in triumph, with the cause of Donna Maria and of political freedom. Saldanha, holding the command at Oporto, received early intimation direct from Brazil of the main outlines of Pedro's proposed measures. Asserting himself in his outspoken, fearless way, he now boldly announced to the Regency that if the new Constitution was not made public by the end of July, he would proceed to swear to it himself and would urge the army to do the same. Thus quickened, the Regency unrolled to the gaze of the people the celebrated Charter of 1826, and on the last day of July the Infanta, together with ministers and other state officials, took oath to carry out its provisions. Quickly following this, Isabel Maria became sole Regent, and a Constitutional Ministry was formed.

On the first impulse Lisbon and Oporto, the former superficially perhaps, the latter for well-grounded reasons, hailed the new Constitution with every demonstration of satisfaction. As to the lower orders, unfortunately a bad harvest had caused positive want: hence, as usual in such circumstances, the Government had a general feeling of discontent to deal with. To many others the new Charter could not but be an apple of discord. Of the nobles, the higher grades only were to have seats in the Upper Chamber: consequently the remainder constituted themselves an adverse faction, and as a class residing on their estates rather than in the capital they were not without considerable following. Similarly, to certain high Church dignitaries only had seats amongst the Peers been allotted. As to the monastic orders, the Charter aimed at excluding them from all political influence whatever: they were not permitted to vote at elections. To the whole clerical profession the innovations meant loss of power and pence, and the sway exercised by the members of that body, over an ignorant and superstitious people, was presently exemplified by a case which occurred of an audacious priest attempting to arouse public enthusiasm.

He solemnly announced that the sanctity of Dom Miguel's cause had been revealed to him through a vision, in the heavens, of the Prince encircled by a scroll and device proclaiming him to be the lawful heir, beyond doubt, to the throne. Moreover, the brotherhood retained a lively recollection of the last Constitution, for under it they had suffered spoliations which had not yet been righted. The first really Radical Cortes would, they knew well, make short work with the religious houses and their inmates.

At this period corruption found a free flow through all the Portuguese administrative departments. Official appointments, decisions in the law courts, exemption from military service, contracts and monopolies were purchasable. Nearly every class thus saw some interest or perquisite open to attack through the new Charter, while it was easy to stir up an unjust prejudice against it, by likening it to the unpracticable and discredited Constitution of 1820. The agitators and politicians of that year were again seen to be in evidence: the inference was that the country was once more threatened with misrule and anarchy. Nor was the projector of the later Code, as a personality, absent from men's minds. A vast colony had been lost to Portugal: Pedro was by many regarded as the chief author of that calamity, and was openly stigmatised as the Robber of Brazil. "That country," they exclaimed, "is nothing to us now, and we will receive nothing from it." Nevertheless, the elections to the Cortes, which assembled at the end of October, 1826, under the provisions of Pedro's Charter, gave a substantial majority to the Chamber of Deputies in favour of it. The Upper House, however, it is to be noted, bore a distinctly reactionary complexion, and proved determinedly obstructive as to carrying out the provisions of the Charter.

Before this, in fact immediately on the promulgation of the new Code, the conflicting aims and opinions which agitated the nation, aided by the machinations of those most vehemently opposed to Pedro's innovations, found open expression in a formidable ebullition, chiefly military. The form which this took was that several regiments, in various quarters, declared for Dom Miguel and deserted or were driven into Spain, where not only was no attempt made to disarm and keep guard over them, but on the contrary they were assisted so openly that they were enabled to return as invading bodies, with additional equipment, even to the extent of a supply of new field-pieces. The leading spirit in this uprising was the Marquis of Chaves, who at one time had under him some five thousand of these

revolted troops. Their total amounted to about twice that number. That Ferdinand was cognisant of this open violation of treaty is beyond question. Of Constitutions and their framers he wished for no further experience. The sudden promulgation now of this Charter, in the neighbouring kingdom, was a fresh agony : in his bitterness of feeling he was only too ready to assist at its subversion. Remonstrances were unheeded by him : the procedure of his officers commanding upon the frontier was privately eulogised.

The situation became grave, for it affected nearly every Court in Europe. A French army was still occupying Spain, having been sent thither to bring political chaos to order ; now Portugal appeared to be on the high-road towards similar convulsions : it was quite possible that the French might feel that they had a mission to intervene in the affairs of the lesser kingdom ; and this with the countenance of some of the other Powers. Great Britain was bound by treaty to come to the aid of Portugal, in case of invasion, and was firmly supporting her in her just demands against Spain. Yet Ferdinand continued to march troops towards his western frontier : hostilities seemed inevitable. At this juncture—midwinter 1826–27—Great Britain despatched to Lisbon a division, some six thousand strong, under General Clinton. By March this rising was a thing of the past, as far as the mutinous Portuguese troops were concerned. They were defeated in the field, while Ferdinand, in a sullen, passive way, was compelled to pay heed to the attitude of Great Britain.

The drifts of the currents which began to set in against the Charter have been partly indicated. The course which the Dowager Queen would pursue was never in doubt. During the operations against the deserting regiments she had aided them with her purse. All such as attacked the establishment of the new Constitution had her countenance, as well as that of a Court party daily growing bolder and more aggressive ; while the Princess Regent, physically unequal to the strain of her responsibilities, found her influence lessening, and her administration thwarted by a designing Camarilla which had gathered around her, under whose influence the Cabinet underwent reconstructions in a reactionary sense. Saldanha was driven from it. In these circumstances, when the kingdom was agitated by the most evident precursors to revolution, Pedro appointed to be Regent over it his brother Miguel, somewhat in advance of the date originally intended by the Charter.

This Prince we have seen banished, in 1823, from Portugal in well-deserved disgrace. During the interval he had resided in Vienna, with the Court at which capital he was connected by certain ties, notably by the fact that the reigning Emperor was grandfather to Donna Maria. Here, outwardly at all events, he was constrained to a decorous life : the Emperor, moreover, had not hesitated to point out plainly to his guest the errors and undutifulness of a portion of his past life. But the Prince had as political tutor Metternich, whose determination was to cast all Constitution makers, all agitators for liberty, the legitimate and the chimerical alike, into one common crucible and smelt them into nothingness with the strong arm of autocracy. From such a master of his art Dom Miguel could hardly fail to receive some very convincing lessons.

As to the decision to hasten the Prince towards so paramount a position as Regent, the Emperor of Brazil seems to have considered it the safest solution of a very difficult problem, the most likely way to avoid the threatening civil war. The Courts of Europe too were in favour of it. He stipulated that Dom Miguel, before quitting Vienna, should swear to carry out the provisions of the Charter, and that the ceremony of the marriage contract should take place in regard to Donna Maria, who remained still in Brazil. These engagements he entered upon, in the most solemn manner, in the presence of the Emperor, of Metternich and other diplomats of distinction. This accomplished he proceeded to England, whence, after interviews with George IV. and the Duke of Wellington, he pursued his journey to Lisbon, arriving there towards the end of February, 1828.

The causes of a strong opposition to the Charter have been alluded to : that Dom Miguel would nullify it if he could his partisans more than guessed : many Portuguese too honestly believed him to be the rightful heir. No wonder, then, that he had scarcely set foot in the capital before the streets were resounding with shouts of " Long live King Miguel ! " " Long live our King Absolute ! " " Death to the Charter ! " In opposition to this, Donna Maria's party contended, not less vehemently if less ostensibly, that her father had beyond all doubt succeeded in full lawfulness to the throne of Portugal, and was no less fully empowered to place the crown of it on her head, as well as to devise a form of government for the country. Hence the contending factions constituted themselves, one for Queen and Charter, the other for Dom Miguel and Absolutism.

Men of enlightened ideas, the mercantile classes, including

a considerable English community, were necessarily Constitutionists. But the age of the young Queen, now only nine, necessitated that for some years she could only rule through a Regency, and in Portugal Regencies had run far from smoothly. On the other hand, Dom Miguel, at five-and-twenty, could suitably enough have the reigns of government placed in his hands. His sojourn at Vienna, the hopeful argued, must surely have tempered the headstrong waywardness of his ill-instructed youth. "Besides, has he not given solemn pledges that he will uphold the Charter? Is he not affianced to our future Sovereign?" Other men, not so confident, involuntarily shuddered as their memories ran back to the scenes of five years ago, and the murder of the Marquis of Loulé, as they thought of the slighted Queen Carlotta, nursing her wrath in the cold shade of exclusion.

Thus a large majority of the nation, for various reasons, gladly welcomed Dom Miguel as Regent; not the least amongst those reasons being the ineradicable dislike and distrust which the people evinced, as always, towards any Constitutional innovations whatever. Had, then, the Prince exercised any decent moderation, and avoided glaring injustices, it seems probable that he could have withheld as much as he chose of the new Code, and could have seated himself firmly on the throne, without fulfilling his engagement as to marrying Donna Maria. Whatever may have been his intentions when he entered the Tagus, it was quickly seen that temperate measures and a conciliating spirit were to have no place in the procedure of his government. He commenced, indeed, by going through the form, in the presence of the assembled Cortes, of swearing to uphold the Charter. But it was noticed that he in part evaded the oath, that he mumbled some words inarticulately; that, in short, he was already tearing up the new Constitution in his hypocritical heart. Of this act he afterwards boasted, even to his barber, who promptly responded, "And indeed at such a game as that, there is no better hand in the kingdom than your Royal Highness." As a religious obligation, it should seem that he might as well have taken the oath in the most public manner, for there was probably not a priest in Lisbon who would not have given him the fullest absolution for breaking that oath.

Returning to unmistakable facts. Dom Miguel got rid of the existing Ministry and substituted one composed of undoubted Absolutists. Various military governors of provinces were changed with the same obvious intent. Every clerical appoint-

ment showed a like spirit. Certain regiments, known to be in favour of the Constitution, were disbanded. For no other reason scores of officers were discharged. Insults and menaces towards Dom Pedro's party passed unpunished: in fact, a rabble from the lowest scum was encouraged to such acts, and went about, clubs in hand and with knives barely concealed, urging people to sign the lists which were opened petitioning Dom Miguel to declare himself King—thus to remove from him the stigma of usurpation. At a Court reception mobs of this class assailed many of the arriving magnates, at the very doors of the palace, compelling them to raise their voices in favour of Dom Miguel as absolute king, and to cry "Death to the Charter!" The Cortes were dissolved, and Clinton's division was withdrawn early in April, 1828, though not without having by its presence seemed to sanction the usurpation.

May and June witnessed a small civil war between Chartists and Miguelites. On the arrival of the Prince, the army was on the whole perhaps Constitutionally inclined; but with changed officers, surrounded by a people roaring for an Absolute king and death to the Charter, acted on by Court influences and bribed from the purse of Queen Carlotta—who under her husband's will had inherited a considerable sum of available cash—most of the troops, wherever quartered, joined their voices to those of the majority of the people. Moreover, there were the regiments interned in Spain and screened by Ferdinand. These were asked for: Royalist Volunteer Corps and Urban Battalions for service in the towns were raised. In this way Dom Miguel found himself at the head of a numerous military force.

The main opposition to Dom Miguel's usurpation raised itself in Oporto and the country to the north of it, early in May. Troops and civil authorities joined hands; then, amidst enthusiastic *Vivas* for Donna Maria and the Charter, was instituted a governing Junta. It was hoped that, in marching on Lisbon, the events of 1820 would repeat themselves. But the venture lacked leaders, civil and military alike. Dom Miguel's forces, advancing from the south, came in contact with their enemy in the vicinity of Coimbra towards the end of June. Several engagements were fought, with the result that the Chartists were driven back upon Oporto. At this juncture Saldanha, Palmella, lately ambassador in England, Villa Flôr, and other men devoted to the Liberal cause, most of whom had been driven from the country by Dom Miguel's high-handed procedure, returned and appeared upon the scene. Earlier they

might perhaps have saved the situation. It was now too late: the army was in retreat and demoralised: the Junta torn by dissensions. The attempt had wholly miscarried. Saldanha and his party hurriedly re-embarked: the Miguelist General, Povoas, occupied Oporto on the 3rd of July, and the Constitutionist force melted away. Numbers of men fled across the Spanish frontier into Galicia; but we shall hear again of many of these refugees.

Meantime Dom Miguel, early in May, gave orders for the assemblage of the Cortes, under the ancient form of Clergy, Nobles, and Commons. The first sitting was held on the 23rd of June; the election of the Deputies having been conducted to the desired end, by the simple expedient of refusing to receive the votes of such as were known to disapprove of the Prince's actions. Some successful candidates were merely informed that their elections had been irregular. This assembly, almost without discussion, decided that Dom Miguel was lawful Sovereign of the realm, and that Dom Pedro's decrees were null and void. On this the foreign ambassadors, with the exception of those accredited from Madrid, Rome, and the United States, demanded their passports. By the 11th of July Dom Miguel found himself fully established as King of Portugal, and, it is right to add, encouraged in his usurpation by a large and influential section of the nation.

On the other hand, it would be difficult perhaps to adduce a more justifiable assumption of arms than that which had been provoked, at Oporto and elsewhere. The nation had been deceived: a portion of it had risen to oppose usurpation and a prince known to have despotic aims. Consequently, when resistance in the field was at an end, policy no less than humanity ought to have prompted a course tending to allay the passions which had been aroused. Instead, a reign of persecution set in. A cruel, remorseless, reactionary wave of oppression swept through the land during the next few years. Certainly no great number of actual executions took place, perhaps a hundred in all. Yet a horrible spirit of barbarism was shown. Some of the decapitated heads were distributed for exposure in the towns which had sympathised most with the uprising: one was deliberately placed upon a pole opposite the house where the mother of the unfortunate victim lived. Those whose sentences had been commuted were frequently obliged to become the hangmen of their fellow prisoners: a son had to witness the execution of his father. Special tribunals

were appointed, in various parts of the kingdom, to give effect to this malevolent determination, while all in authority were incited to redouble their cruelty by the ever pitiless Queen-mother.

Thousands were thrown into damp, filthy prisons, where a deliberately designed neglect and prolonged mental tortures consigned many of them to the grave. Many others met with a not less cruel death after deportation to Africa. The Royalist Volunteers, no less zealous in the cause of their master than their Spanish brethren, were employed upon the suppression of disaffection in the provinces. Some few attempted military outbreaks were quickly extinguished. After one of these, where the judges had not awarded the death penalty, Dom Miguel insisted that some of the accused should be executed. Priests from their pulpits encouraged this reign of ferocity and vengeance. "There are three ways, your Majesty," preached one of these cruel bigots in a sermon before the King—"three ways of getting rid of this vile Liberal rabble: hang them, starve them in the prisons, poison them." At the outset of this period of terror hundreds of families, foreseeing the system of government to which Dom Miguel would subject the country, had quitted it: their entire properties were ruthlessly confiscated, and officials of all ranks seized greedily on this booty.

The free hand now assumed by Dom Miguel, as to arbitrary arrests and other tyrannical acts, brought him in 1831 into a position of no small humiliation. The encouragement given in the capital and Oporto to the police—or, in fact, to any of the rabble who chose to assault people who were known to be Chartists—led to the maltreatment and imprisonment of several British and French residents. More serious than this, certain British vessels were seized on the charge that they were in use, hostile to the cause of Dom Miguel in the Azores; a matter to be entered upon presently. Some of the crews had no doubt rendered themselves punishable by law, but not in the arbitrary way its decrees were at that time given effect to in Lisbon. Remonstrances were made, followed by demands as to restitution: a French squadron appeared at the mouth of the Tagus in the early part of July: an ultimatum was presented. As to Great Britain, Dom Miguel gave the satisfaction demanded; he then had the venturesomeness to appeal to that country for aid against France, on the strength of the treaties which pledged the former to protect Portugal from foreign invasion. He was counselled here also to make reparation, and consented

to do so: nevertheless the French squadron took possession of nearly all the Portuguese men-of-war in the harbour, and carried them off to Brest.

The scene now changes to Madeira and the group of rugged mid-Atlantic islands bearing the name of the Azores, which were all Portuguese possessions. When in May, 1828, the reports of Dom Miguel's usurpations arrived at Madeira, some commotions hostile to him occurred. A squadron and reinforcements of troops were thereupon despatched from Lisbon: by August the island had been reduced to subjection. In the diminutive Terceira, however, one of the Azores group, a stalwart little band of opposing Constitutionists held out. Thither in due course floated the wreckage of the present shattered fortunes of the young Queen: this was the Ararat of the survivors of the disasters of 1828. It is difficult, in following the story of these wanderers, not to be touched by their trials and afflictions. The rank and file had raised their standard at Oporto, only to find themselves under incapable or unfortunate chiefs, political and military. Driven into Spain, they had been subjected to cruel maltreatment because they refused to enlist in the cause of Dom Miguel. Then a large body of them had found their way to England, where, as they continued to mobilise themselves, their presence raised difficulties, and affairs so shaped themselves that the choice was before them either of disbanding or quitting the country. Again they became the sport of the winds of hazard. It was proposed by their leaders in England to ship them off to Terceira: this refused, an attempt was made in January, 1829, to smuggle them thither under the fiction that their destination was Brazil. Here they found themselves checkmated by the inflexible action of Wellington, and the despatch to the island of a man-of-war, whose captain no less sternly opened fire upon them. Turning about they made for Brest, and became refugees in more hospitable France. This ill-fated enterprise was led by Saldanha.

Terceira, nevertheless, in spite of a hostile section of its inhabitants, and the menaces of a Miguelite squadron, continued doggedly to hold out. In August, 1829, an attempt, on a considerable scale, was made to capture the place: it was repelled decisively; the attacking party were driven back to their ships. During 1830 the general spread of Liberalism aided the landing, in the island, of the refugees scattered throughout Europe. In 1828 the young Queen, Donna Maria, had arrived

and stayed for nearly a year in England. This led to a desire amongst many to champion her cause, while the chequered course of party politics connived at the embarking from that country of various bodies of men, including some old campaigners. A very serviceable French battalion likewise landed. In Villa Flôr the cause had found a clear-sighted, unassuming commander, while Palmella worked assiduously for it in political channels. The funds were chiefly supplied from Brazil; individual enthusiasts and soldiers of fortune arrived from all quarters. In this way, with a liberal accompaniment of wrangling and cross-purposes, continued to increase the little army designed to overthrow Dom Miguel.

Lastly, in March, 1832, there arrived at Terceira no less a personage than Dom Pedro himself, now no longer Emperor of Brazil. Possessing many good qualities, he yet proved deficient in those which might have preserved to him his throne in a country in a state of transition. He involved himself in a lengthy, expensive, and unsuccessful war with Buenos Ayres: he was accused, not without reason, of aiming to rule by methods despotic rather than Constitutional: was held to have not sufficiently identified himself with his new kingdom, and was seen to look for support to the extreme Conservatives. Those who had formerly been prominent in execrating everything Portuguese had moulded themselves into a vast semi-republican opposition. They objected, rightly enough, to Brazil being drawn into the struggle for the Portuguese throne, and to the subsidies that were being despatched to Europe. So irreconcilably hostile became parties in the Chambers, as well as throughout the country, so probable the outbreak of a civil war, that Dom Pedro, as much perhaps on the whole sinned against as sinning, abdicated on April 7, 1831, in favour of his son, a child five years of age. Some fifteen months previously had died Queen Carlotta, to whose baneful influence over her son Miguel, and to whose fiendishly cruel animosity towards men or measures at issue with a despotic sway, Portugal owes so large a store of the obloquy attached to this period.

In June, 1832, took place the sailing, from the Azores, of the expedition under the ex-Emperor, intent on wresting Portugal from his usurping brother. It was only about 7,500 strong, drawn from many sources, including even the original Miguelite garrison of the island. Cavalry formed no part of it. Dom Pedro as head of it contributed a bold adventurous spirit, an untiring energy, the fullest confidence in himself, and a

personal staff out of all proportion to the needs of the case. Of the qualities which conduce to a successful handling of troops in the field he had none. Fortunately by his side was Palmella, a statesman of experience and sound practical views. Villa Flôr, who had brought a master-mind to bear upon the extremely difficult task of organising and brigading this singular force, continued to be its most useful leader. The naval arrangements for transporting it were in the hands of Sartorius, an officer trained in the British service. Saldanha, whose extreme Liberal views and rough methods of asserting himself found little favour with the punctilious Dom Pedro, was as yet kept in the background. Unhappily, together with its leaders, each in his way rendering honest, useful service, there accompanied the expedition a noisome crew of selfish intriguers, time-servers and tale-bearers, who in no small measure marred and brought discredit on the adventure.

Fortune certainly smiled upon the opening scene. At Lisbon it was concluded that the destination of the hostile fleet was surely the capital: consequently the north was but slenderly defended, and no men-of-war had been despatched towards that neighbourhood. Santa Martha, upon whom fell the defence of Oporto, estimating the strength of the invaders by the numbers of the sailing craft of every description making for the mouth of the Douro, thought it prudent to retire from the city: hence Dom Pedro, on July 9th, marched into this important place and valuable base of operations without the loss of a man. Those in authority here decamped, in the wake of the military force, together with the occupants of the monasteries. So numerous were the latter that, while some of them went off to assist in spreading reports that the invaders were cruel despoilers and extirpators of religion, while others, a sword in one hand, a crucifix in the other, marched in the ranks of the Miguelite regiments, there were sufficient remaining to form two actual fighting battalions, each over a thousand strong.

Hope had flown high in the mind of the ex-Emperor, now known by the title of Duke of Braganza, that his mere name and repute would draw the Portuguese in thousands to his standard. From this dream there was soon a disappointing awakening. A bare handful of deserters came in; whereas amongst those who had joined the invading force, when preparing in the Azores, many had plainly done so merely to get back to their own country. They now made off in hundreds. Dom Pedro gained a few further first successes; then the former garrison recovered

confidence and found support in some local militia; shortly Povoas with additional regular troops appeared on the scene, and thus there commenced a siege which, varied with occasional determined fighting in the vicinity, held the invaders fast bound in Oporto for a whole year.

Elsewhere throughout the kingdom, plainly enough, as yet the vast bulk of the people had not transferred their loyalty from Dom Miguel to his brother. In the capital, when it became obvious that a force must be marched nothwards, there was no lack of enthusiasm. Thirty thousand volunteers offered themselves. There was a general confidence that the easy successes of 1828 would be repeated. A forced loan, which had to be resorted to owing to the usual emptiness of the treasury, was readily complied with. Horses and mules were presented by the wealthy; a considerable store of war material and equipment came to hand equally gratuitously; shopkeepers gave shirts and shoes; ladies showered flowers on the departing troops; priests bestowed rosaries, and the blessings befitting so pious an undertaking. The siege itself, though lasting, as stated, a year, need not detain us long. Dom Pedro had some eleven thousand fighting-men within the place. A sally forth, and a march through a hostile country upon a capital in possession of his enemy, was the very unpromising task before him, if his object was to be obtained. The Miguelite encircling troops amounted, by the end of the year, to nearly thirty thousand. The encounters around the lines of defence may be classed as indecisive. A nine hours' action at Ponte-Ferreira, on July 23rd, brought casualties amounting to about a thousand to both combatants. During the night, within the city, there were rumours of defeat. There was a hurried embarkation, in a panic, of the ex-Emperor's baggage and of several of his officials. On September 29th, St. Michael's Day, the besiegers made their most determined assault, which was repelled with a loss to either side of some two thousand in killed and wounded.

Dom Miguel himself appeared upon the scene in December, and continued throughout the winter to be aided by the resources of all the rest of the kingdom, its military and naval forces, as well as a priesthood proclaiming the war to be a holy one. Nor was the abetting of the latter confined, as it seems, to the exterior of the walls, for a general attempt to set fire to the convents in the city, most of which were in use as barracks, was fairly justly laid to their charge. There is some evidence

that the plot was to include the assassination of Dom Pedro during the confusion consequent on the conflagration. On the whole, taking into account the strange medley of the force within, including British, French, Germans, Belgians, Italians, and Poles, the defence may almost claim to be called heroic. Those extreme horrors which sieges only occasionally witness were here at times painfully evident, and included the feeding upon mules, cats, rats, and even the dogs which came to prey upon the unburied dead. Typhus fever claimed its usual large share of victims, and towards the end cholera struck down many others. The mouth of the river, it should be mentioned, was, though intermittently and precariously, open : hence, in a haphazard fashion, supplies, ammunition, and reinforcements of men continued to arrive from Great Britain and the Continent.

Of this meritorious defence the chief honours can scarcely be claimed by those high in authority. Dom Pedro certainly was seen by the rank and file to be personally brave, while sharing to the full the risks from shot and shell. But he was for ever interfering in military matters, and was always under the impression that he was guiding them with a master hand. He gave some signal proofs of want of tact in dealing with his foreign contingents, who were always the last to be paid, fed, or to receive hospital comforts. That they broke into open mutiny more than once is not to be wondered at. No ranks were allowed to forget that there was a royal personage and a Court in their midst, whereas every one recollected that the ex-Emperor's tenure of a throne could hardly be regarded as a complete success. Count Villa Flôr, whose ability in the field had been frequently shown, was intrigued against from pure jealousy, from a fear lest he should enjoy too much of Dom Pedro's favour. He was thus driven to resign.

Palmella had soon returned to London, chiefly in view of effecting a loan. He was also commissioned to bring about, if possible, the intervention of the Powers, and finally to obtain a General to command. Hence, in the first days of 1833, Solignac arrived from France. He, too, was at once the object of aspersions and plottings, which led in June to his following the example of his predecessor. The iniquitous counsellors who brought this about had, no less reprehensibly, opposed, and successfully until January, 1833, the appearance upon the scene of the gallant Saldanha. So notorious was all this disreputable state of affairs that it repelled everywhere any

otherwise favourable dispositions of foreign Courts. Fortunately for the besieged, their opponents were not without their disconcerting troubles. A fierce jealousy sprang up between Povoas and Santa Martha. Teixeira was then entrusted with the command, and he again was succeeded by Santa Martha. In February, 1833, Lourenço was placed at the head of the besieging force. These changes were advocated or opposed, in the most outspoken way, by all ranks. Some of the militia regiments were in a hopeless state of inefficiency. There were frequent desertions during the winter months.

While the progress of the siege was thus stagnating, during the midsummer of 1833, with the Miguelites indisposed for further assaults, and the so-called Liberating Army seemingly powerless to move a yard in any direction; while most of the leaders on both sides were ardently longing for some possible compromise, a resolution was taken which gave an altogether changed complexion to the campaign. This was no other than the singular determination to despatch by sea from the Oporto garrison an expeditionary force to the extreme south of the kingdom. Before following its hazardous fortunes it is necessary to devote a page or so to naval matters. The chance way in which troops gathered together at Terceira has been noticed. In a no less adventitious fashion a Pedroite fleet was brought into existence. The current of European affairs had so run that the Cabinets of Great Britain and France became allied to the cause of the young Queen to the extent that, in the latter country especially, the purchase and equipping of certain vessels in their ports were connived at. Others were converted from merchant ships into men-of-war amongst the Azores. In this way Sartorius found himself in command of the small squadron which convoyed the expedition to Oporto; other armed vessels were added during the siege.

The duty which fell to this commander was the very essential one of keeping open the mouth of the Douro, for the besieged had to look for their supplies entirely to overseas, a duty which Sartorius, perhaps too cautious an officer, satisfactorily performed. He twice sailed to the mouth of the Tagus, blockading it on one occasion. He fought two actions with the Miguelite fleet, which, if not pushed very vigorously, in part answered his purpose, for he was inferior in strength, and a decisive defeat sustained by him would probably have been equally fatal to Oporto—that is, to the whole enterprise. But

these were not the brilliant victories that had been expected by Dom Pedro, under whose censure the Admiral most unjustly fell. The ships' crews had been drawn so largely from the lawless seaport classes that, under any circumstances, the maintenance of discipline would have been no easy task. In addition, their pay fell months in arrears; they several times broke into open mutiny; on one occasion some two hundred men deserted. Even the officers spoke of their commander's cautiousness with a much harder word. His feud with Dom Pedro arrived at such a pitch that he threatened to sail off with the fleet, sell it, and devote the proceeds to satisfying the just demands of his seamen. In due course he resigned, but not until after a ludicrous attempt on Dom Pedro's part to arrest him, with the result that the would-be captors were themselves made prisoners on board the flag-ship.

Sartorius was succeeded by a member of a family of whom it has certainly never been said that they hesitated to assert themselves in deed, in speech, or with the pen. Charles Napier, of the British service, was appointed to command the fleet not long before the departure from Oporto of the expedition, above briefly referred to. It sailed on the 21st of June, 1833, with Villa Flôr (now Duke of Terceira) in military command, and Palmella as prospective civil governor. It was merely 2,500 strong, but landed unopposed on the 24th near Tavira, in the extreme south of the kingdom, where we leave it while we follow the fortunes of the fleet which had convoyed it, and was again at sea.

On the news of this enterprise reaching the capital, the Miguelite fleet was ordered forth to seek the enemy. The experiences of the Portuguese navy of late had plainly enough not been of a nature to develop a high feeling of ardour. It was now despatched, hastily and inefficiently equipped. The prevailing feeling was one of dejection; a presage of defeat possessed the minds of the crews; many officers and men deserted on the eve of sailing. Had Napier's ships been entrusted for their armament and stores to the Oporto authorities, their condition would certainly have been but on a par with that of their adversaries. Now, on the contrary, the force of example had communicated itself throughout the squadron: all ranks were animated by eagerness and confidence. The two small fleets came into contact, on the 5th of July, in the vicinity of historic Cape St. Vincent. That of Dom Miguel held every apparent advantage. The vessels in number

were ten against six: the guns they carried 354 against 176. Napier's plan was to await a calm, when, using his steamers as tugs, he purposed bringing matters to an issue by boarding. The calm came, but the crews of the steamers, with one exception, flatly refused to perform their allotted share of the onset. Then a breeze sprang up and Napier attacked, grappling with and boarding in person the *Rainha*, carrying eighty guns. Shortly afterwards the *Joaõ VI.*, the Admiral's flag-ship, lowered her colours. Within two hours of the firing of the first shot Napier had captured the four largest of his opponent's ships; two afterwards went over to him, the rest escaped. On his arrival at Lagos, a few of the officers and the whole of the seamen of the defeated fleet accepted service under the victorious Admiral.

Now followed a success upon land more remarkable still in this campaign of the unexpected; for it is to be noted that, beyond the general idea of creating a diversion by landing in Algarve, the leaders had sailed from Oporto without any definite plan of operations. Terceira had then, as mentioned, obtained a footing on the south coast on the 24th of June without firing a shot. Yet not a sign of welcome or help appeared on the part of the inhabitants, who in fact mostly fled. It was with no small difficulty that the mere rations were obtained. Nevertheless, with a force of one thousand six hundred men, of whom twenty only were mounted, Terceira decided, or rather Napier did for him, to march upon the capital. From here, to oppose the advance, three thousand men were posted at Almada, on the south bank of the Tagus, and a division was despatched to Beja, where were gathered together under Mollelos the troops which had retired before this handful of invaders. Ignoring this latter menace to his right flank, Terceira pushed ahead, and on the 23rd of July was in conflict with the troops at Almada.

Telles-Jordão, here in command, assumed Mollelos to have been defeated. Officers and men, in their bewilderment, magnified the advancing force to a vast army. They were already disheartened by the loss of the fleet. Only the feeblest resistance was offered: in fact, almost with the first shots, was raised the cry "To the boats!" These could convey across but a few: darkness closed around a confused scene of slaughter at the quays; in the midst of which Telles-Jordão, a pitiless minion of Dom Miguel during his reign of terror, met a fate which, cruel as it was, few could pity. On the following morning, the 24th, the Duke of Cadaval, who was in command in Lisbon, decided

upon evacuating it. A few days later Napier sailed into the Tagus.

Meantime, at Oporto, Saldanha had shown himself the real hero of the defence, while, in the besiegers' lines, the want of a leader of experience had become so evident that General Bourmont, whose services extended from La Vendée to Algiers, was appointed to the command. A grand final assault was delivered on the 25th of July: it was valorously repulsed at all points; Dom Miguel, after watching it, was informed by telegraph that the capital had changed hands. To attempt to regain it was decided upon: accordingly, leaving at Oporto a small force, he drew off from it on the 9th of August with the bulk of his army, and, accompanied by Bourmont, marched southwards. In numbers this army was not despicable, but the heart was out of it. The men, mostly in rags, marched silently and dejectedly. Cholera still hung about them. The officers, many of them of noble birth, strove chivalrously to maintain devotion to a cause now verging on the hopeless. Peninsular veterans, footstore and limping, attempted no less doggedly to infuse some spirit into their younger brethren in arms, plainly enough loathing the whole surroundings of their calling. Their royal leader, his entire belongings carried by a single mule, showed in his countenance the forlornness of the situation, though villagers still, as they asked his blessing, implored him to free the country from the atheists and republicans who were bent on subverting the hallowed institutions of the land.

On arrival at Coimbra matters brightened. The force was to some extent furnished with necessaries: the garrison, eight thousand strong, which had evacuated Lisbon, marched in, thus giving Dom Miguel a total for his venture of nearly forty thousand men. Desertions ceased: a more hopeful spirit prevailed. Seemingly, success would have followed a rapid march upon Lisbon; for there no measures of defence had been entered upon by Terceira, after its occupation by him. Dom Pedro had sailed for it on the 26th of July; yet even under him Dom Miguel's army of the north continued to be regarded as negligible. The campaign apparently was regarded as at an end, notwithstanding that the country through which Terceira had rapidly marched was soon swarming with threatening bodies of guerrillas. Fortunately, the ubiquitous Napier was at hand to urge that operations should be commenced upon the existing neglected lines and forts. The no less active Saldanha had also arrived by the last week of August, after having by a

succession of spirited attacks completely unfettered Oporto about the 18th of that month. Hence, by the time Bourmont appeared before the capital, it had assumed a formidable defensive front, and contained Portugal's most eminent General. An attack in force was made on the 5th of September: it was repelled, with a total loss in killed and wounded of about a thousand; the casualties on the part of the defenders were less than half that number. Another attempt was made on the 14th, with no better success; and as these results satisfied Bourmont that further assaults would fare equally badly he resigned.

Most useful progress was next made by Saldanha, who by about the 10th of October had driven his adversaries clear of Lisbon to Santarem, some fifty miles higher up the river; a strong position which they improved as to its fortifications. This town and Cartaxo, a little to the south-west of it, remained the headquarters of the two armies until nearly the close of the operations. Though Dom Miguel's fortunes were now plainly on the ebb in a military sense, the country in the main still adhered to him, or at all events hung back from the new Lisbon Government and its proffered Charter. Oporto was again threatened: the whole country to the north of it remained persistently hostile; an expedition up the river Sado, into the guerrilla-pestered districts on the south of the capital, was disgracefully routed at Alcacer early in November. On the other hand, a loan had been raised in London. The young Queen arrived at Lisbon on the 23rd of September from France, and was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. That country, Great Britain, and others recognised her right to the throne.

Finally, in the early part of 1834, Dom Pedro's Generals began definitely to prove themselves masters of the situation. Saldanha in January gained a victory at Leiria and another near Santarem. A desperate attempt on the part of Dom Miguel to break forth from the latter place, and make a dash for Lisbon, was driven back with great loss by Saldanha on the 18th of February. Terceira, despatched by sea to Oporto, after subduing Traz os Montes, cleared the country from the Douro down to the Tagus. Napier with a roving commission, which he appears to have bestowed upon himself, effected some bold, masterful descents upon various parts of the coast-land. Sá-da-Bandeira recovered the province of Algarve.

It must here be introduced that in Spain too a war of suc-

cession, as yet in its earlier stages, was in progress. Don Carlos, brother to Ferdinand VII., claimed the throne. That Prince, before the King's death, had been directed to withdraw from Court, whereupon, in March, 1833, he had proceeded to Portugal and joined Dom Miguel: when further ordered to quit the Peninsula he had refused. Ferdinand died in September, 1833; in the spring of the following year Great Britain and France, after recognising the claim of Ferdinand's daughter Isabel and that of Donna Maria to the thrones, respectively, of Spain and Portugal, had entered upon an agreement with the latter Powers—termed the Quadruple Alliance—which was signed on the 22nd of April, 1834, and had for its aim the expulsion of both claimants from the Peninsula. In furtherance of this a Spanish army corps, under Rodil, operating from Ciudad Rodrigo, passed into Portugal, joined hands with Terceira during his downward march, in the vicinity of the Estrella mountains, and then took post at Abrantes, a town which lies thirty miles or so above Santarem.

In this were both Dom Miguel and Don Carlos, faced by Saldanha at Cartaxo. Terceira was at Thomar. Thus a semicircle of hostile forces was formed to the north of the Miguelite army. The days of its existence were plainly drawing to a close: it was in numbers the inferior, and, after a succession of reverses, was now dismayed at the overwhelming weight thrown into the scale by the Quadruple Alliance. To its detriment it had changed commanders from Bourmont successively to McDonnell, Povoas, and Lemos. On the 16th of May at Asseiceira, about seventy miles north-east of Lisbon, was fought the last battle of the war, resulting in the complete defeat by Terceira of Dom Miguel's army, with considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides that of its artillery. This was followed shortly by the bulk of the cavalry declaring for the Queen's cause, and by the passage of the vanquished to the left bank of the Tagus, whence they made for Evora Monte.

Here, before the end of the month, a Convention was duly signed. Under it Dom Miguel's troops, after delivering up their arms, were at liberty to emigrate or return to their homes. A general amnesty was proclaimed. There was certainly an intention, as far as Dom Pedro was concerned, that oblivion of the past should follow as quickly as possible. Those officers who were willing to swear fidelity to the young Queen were to be permitted to continue in the service with their present ranks.

Amongst the common soldiers and some of the people, however, a very different spirit prevailed. They were intent on vengeance, and clamoured for a traitor's death to Dom Miguel. A plot was set on foot to assassinate him, while hostile demonstrations followed him to the port of embarkation, Sines, whence he sailed for Genoa. Don Carlos quitted the country about the same time for England. Dom Miguel, on arrival at Genoa, promptly disavowed the promises and engagements of Evora Monte, saying that they had been forced upon him. The main stipulation had been that he was never to return to the Peninsula, or attempt to disturb its tranquillity. The Cortes retaliated by declaring him and his descendants for ever banished from the kingdom and excluded from the succession. It was further intimated to the Prince that should he set foot in Portugal he would assuredly be shot.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST CARLIST WAR

FERDINAND VII. died, as briefly touched upon, in September, 1833. To explain why the succession to his throne was disputed necessitates a glance back over some centuries. The Salic Law formed no part of the code of Castile, for Isabella's renown as a Queen remains worldwide: at her accession her claim had been disputed by one of her own sex: on her death, the right of her daughter to the Crown was never in question on account of her sex. In Aragon national sentiment rather than the Constitution of the country was against a female ruler. Philip V., however, the first of the Bourbon line in Spain, so far instituted the Salic Law that females could only reign, in the event of the entire failure of males having any title to the succession. In 1789, under Charles IV., the old order was reintroduced. The procedure was strictly legal: the Cortes were requested to petition the King to submit to them for consideration this weighty matter; there was no opposition, and in a very brief space female children were thus restored to their former rights.

Why this change was introduced at a time when Charles had two sons living is not altogether clear. His eldest daughter, however, Carlotta, was married to the heir-apparent of Portugal, a prince who afterwards reigned there as John VI. Should no son of Charles survive, here was an opening for the realisation of a project never lost sight of by the Court of Madrid, namely, the incorporation of the two kingdoms. Charles, moreover, viewed with aversion the chances of the succession falling to his kinsfolk reigning in Naples. It is equally difficult to assign adequate reasons for concealing, from the general public, this important alteration in the Constitution, effected with the full consent of King and Cortes. It was felt no doubt by Charles and his advisers that the change should not become a law with-

out some reference to those other Royal Families of Europe, of France, and Naples in particular, with whom there were marriage connections. But Paris was now in a fierce turmoil, the Bastille having fallen less than three weeks before. A single sitting sufficed for discussion : the law of succession was thus altered : upon the members of the Cortes was imposed a solemn oath of secrecy, which appears to have been singularly well observed. Soon followed the great events of the Napoleonic era : the sons of Charles attained to manhood, and the official record of this memorable Act mouldered in the State archives.

Now, however, in the last years of Ferdinand's life, the great question—King or Queen?—shaped itself definitely for decision. He had already been three times married, but was childless when, in 1829, he took as his fourth wife Maria Christina, the handsome daughter of Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies. The Apostolical Party, aware that the chosen bride held somewhat liberal ideas, had virulently opposed the marriage ; and their apprehensions increased as it became known that, during her passage through France, she had welcomed and sympathised with many of the numerous Spanish refugees living in the country. Greater still was their perturbation when, in due course, it was rumoured that there was every probability of the birth of a direct heir to the throne. During this train of possibilities the Act of 1789, Charles IV.'s "Pragmatic Sanction," as it is called, was proclaimed to the world. Some seven months later, in October, 1830, a daughter, Isabella, was born ; and in January, 1832, it may here be mentioned, a second daughter, Maria Louisa.

Don Carlos thus ceased to be heir-presumptive ; though neither he nor his party for a moment meant to acquiesce in the situation ; and, curiously, they were within an ace of it resulting that the King had passed to eternity, while they themselves held in their possession a document, signed by him, substantiating their claims. This singular passage of affairs arose from a sudden illness of the King during September, 1832. In an enfeebled state, mentally and bodily, lured by specious arguments, he put his name to a decree purporting to annul the Pragmatic Sanction : he acknowledged, in short, Don Carlos to be his lawful successor. The Queen, influenced, it is believed, by a desire to avoid civil strife, assented. Not so her sister Carlotta, the daring and impulsive wife of the Infante Francis de Paula. At a distance from Court when rumour of the transaction reached her, she flew to the scene of the feuds raging

around the sick King's bed. It is even said that she boxed the ears of Calomarde, who had drawn up the document, that she obtained it from him and tore it up. At all events, it disappeared, and through her energetic action the Pragmatic Sanction remained in force. Ferdinand was restored to convalescence, Calomarde disgraced, and the Queen empowered to sign all State papers.

So far Don Carlos had maintained amicable relations with the King, who during the course of his critical illness made certain advances towards associating his brother in the government, as adviser to or co-Regent with the Queen, provided he would recognise Isabella's right to the Crown. Consideration, too, was given to the possibility, in days to come, of a marriage between the Princess and the eldest son of Don Carlos. While these overtures continued to be coldly received or respectfully evaded by the Prince, his partisans and those of his brother were indulging in daily feuds, spiced with no small amount of anything but Courtly language. Conspicuous in this arena of vituperation figured the Princess Beira, a sister of Dom Miguel, a widow, a Carlist among Carlists, with her animosity towards the Queen heightened by the fact that she had intrigued unsuccessfully to place one of her own daughters in Christina's position. Such a firebrand did she become at Court, that Dom Miguel was informed that she must quit the kingdom. By this time, March, 1833, it was known to Ferdinand that the extreme partisans of his brother were urging him to unfurl the Carlist banner of revolt; the latter was accordingly directed to withdraw from Court; he received permission to proceed to Portugal, where, in company with his wife and the Princess Beira, who were sisters, we have seen how he was associated with the final ousting of Dom Miguel from that kingdom. Intermediately a more definite rupture had occurred between the royal brothers of Spain. In June the Cortes assembled for the purpose of swearing allegiance to Isabella, as heir to the throne. Don Carlos was invited to attend the ceremony: he replied that his conscience, his honour, his consideration for others precluded him from taking such a step, thus intimating in unmistakable words that when the time came he would assert his claim. He was now forbidden to re-enter Spain.

The position of Queen Christina, who on Ferdinand's death, in September, 1833, became by his testament Regent, was plainly beset with great difficulties and many entanglements. These were not lessened by a proclamation issued by her on

assuming the reins of government. If it contained any definite programme at all, it was one framed upon Conservative lines, whereas to the Liberals only could she turn for support. The Carlists were bent upon ousting her, together with her daughters, and upon giving the crown to the absolutist Prince of their choice. Accordingly the proclamation gave great umbrage to the Liberals, especially to those who were now returning by the thousand from exile, chiefly from France, many of them naturally enough with minds rankling from a sense of their wrongs, some no doubt looking forward to days of reckoning, few inclined to accept half measures. There was discontent, moreover, amongst that numerous class which, not impelled by wild partisanship, regarded the Queen with feelings of sincere affection, and trusted that under her Regency the blights and oppressions of the late reign would be altogether things of the past.

Hereupon forcible representations were made to her, by statesmen and Generals alike, to the effect that if the allegiance of the people, the birthrights of her daughters, and the fidelity of the army were to remain assured, the arbitrary rule of Ferdinand VII. must now be entirely recast and in a liberal mould. This brought about the fall of Zea Bermudez, a minister whose name is linked with the expression "Enlightened Despotism," who at all events was too deeply imbued with the notions of the late King. It opened the way to Martinez de la Rosa, one of Spain's worthiest ministers, a man, by the way, whom Ferdinand had sent to the galleys. Fortunately Christina was courageous, intelligent, and clearly perceived the condition to which the country had been brought by despotism. In favour of her being able to maintain herself in power was the fact that her daughter was Queen in possession, the Cortes having sworn to uphold her rights, and the King having issued a special decree as to her being the heir. There had been a general placing in command of Captains-General and Governors in favour of Isabella. Before the end of the year the turbulent, miscreated Royalist Volunteers were disbanded, though not without much opposition and some bloodshed. The regular army, unfortunately at this juncture numerically very weak, stood faithful, and with one or two local, though notable, exceptions remained so to the end of the Carlist War.

Independent of the succession question, the antagonism between Liberals and Reactionists was so fierce that, even had no daughters been born to Christina, there was every indication

that the two malcontent parties would soon be confronting each other in the field. Clearly now Isabella's title would be challenged. The death of Ferdinand was a signal to several towns and districts to proclaim Carlos V., who at this moment was in the camp of, and hand in glove with, Dom Miguel. The Convention of Evora Monte, it must be noted, was not brought about until Ferdinand had been dead eight months, and during the latter stages of the campaign, while Portugal was becoming a hot-bed of conspiracies against the new rule in Spain, it was quite possible that a portion of Dom Miguel's discomfited army, bad as its plight was, might, instead of laying down its arms, have been induced to pass into the adjacent kingdom, there to become the nucleus of a vast armed movement against the Regent.

During this period, too, the machinations of the priesthood were in full activity for Don Carlos. Not merely were there the usual fabrications from the pulpits as to the religion of the country being in peril; proclamations were printed by the hundreds in the monasteries, many of which establishments were serving the purpose of regular recruiting depôts for the Carlist battalions. Thus were gathering the opponents in the coming, long drawn out civil war. Absolutism, the Church, and a claimant to the throne were arrayed against the Liberalism of the country, headed, of necessity, by the Regent; for, though in April, 1834, was signed the Quadruple Alliance, by which Great Britain and France undertook to assist in driving the two pretenders from the Peninsula, in the sequel both those Powers held aloof from active interference.

During this same month was promulgated a Royal Statute, formulating a Constitution for Spain. It provided for an Upper and a Lower Chamber. Amongst the Peers were to sit, as well as high Church dignitaries, certain Spaniards who had attained to prominence from their civil or military official standing, from their landed possessions, wealth, or attainments. They were to be chosen by the Sovereign and continue to act during lifetime. Little exception could be taken to such a House, if it really became what it promised; though it was at once demurred that here were openings for Governmental packings, Camarillas, and Generals of the hour. In regard to the Lower Chamber there was a clamour as to defects much more glaring. The franchise was so restricted that the bulk of the lower orders had no votes at all; the Deputies were to be chosen by an indirect method, which placed a manipulation of the elections in the hands of

local officials and the moneyed classes. To this House no initiative was allowed : it could only discuss measures submitted to it by the Crown. Though this Statute of 1834 had been preceded by some useful measures on the part of the Ministry, it was received generally throughout the country with deep disappointment ; a feeling shared by the party known politically as Moderates. Their opponents, the Progressists, were much more outspoken, and it was soon seen that there was a considerable extreme section agitating for the Constitution of 1812.

Already by the spring of 1834 a civil war had assumed a formidable shape in the Basque Provinces. Elsewhere Ferdinand's death had been followed by risings and proclamations in favour of his brother as Carlos V., but with the exception that a priest named Merino had advanced towards Madrid with about eleven thousand followers, these outbreaks need not be further noticed. In the Basque Provinces, however, a region in which we include Navarre, the country lying between Santander and Pamplona, the curtain had risen on the opening scenes of the first Carlist War. Here the main strife originated, here it centred throughout. These provinces had, from time immemorial, enjoyed certain immunities, notably from military service and the payment of custom duties. They had retained a form of government which may almost be described as republican, and which a succession of sovereigns had confirmed to them. The amount to be paid into the general treasury of the country was here decided locally. The abolition of these Fueros—the Spanish word for special privileges or charters—had at various times come under the consideration of ministers, and had been advocated chiefly by the Liberals when in power. Not long ago Ballesteros, as Finance Minister, had certainly contemplated annulling the taxation exemptions.

By adroitly taking advantage of these facts, by magnifying their tendencies—in short, by alarming the Basque people as to the intentions of the Madrid Government—it was easy for the partisans of Don Carlos, the priests in particular, to draw over these provinces to his side. Their hardy mountaineers, without caring at the outset who was to be king or queen, were now agitating and fighting for their rights and interests, which Carlos was promising most solemnly to protect. The inhabitants in general contrast very strongly with those of the rest of the country ; in fact, it may be said that a different blood flows in their veins ; here activity and endurance, elsewhere indo-

lence. When we consider, too, the difficulties ever attendant on warfare in a mountainous country, in this instance with priests, women, and children co-operating, we have a first glance at the reasons why it was not until after a six years' struggle that the brave men of the Basque lands were driven to a capitulation. Moreover, amongst the Christino officers there was frequently discord, arising from the fact that while some of them were eager chiefly for the rights of the young Queen, the zeal of others was prompted rather by the chance that they were contending for Liberal principles.

To this northern land of wild, rugged beauty, now up in arms, flocked the disbanded Royalist Volunteers by the thousand. Many French Legitimists also hurried to the scene. Rich upholders of the ancient rule, men to whom all new ideas and the very word Liberal were abhorrent, placed their fortunes at the disposal of Carlism. Franciscans and Capuchins converted themselves into custom-house officers. Convents became armouries and foundries, with monks for workmen. Yet all this might have been in vain had not a leader of signal ability come upon the scene in the person of Zumalacarregui. He was appointed to the command of the revolting provinces towards the end of 1833, at a moment when the first hostile movements of the Carlists had been everywhere crushed. He quickly showed himself a conspicuously successful guerrilla chief. His men, as they marched or fought, soon learnt to recognise in a melancholy, taciturn man, clad like themselves in Basque bonnet and sheepskin cloak, a master mind, a stern disciplinarian, whose expedients almost invariably led them to a triumph. In three months he altogether reversed the position in the Basque Provinces. Sooner or later, in one way or another, he outmanœuvred or worsted Saarsfield, Valdés, Quesada, Rodil, and Mina, the Queen's Generals successively appointed from Madrid to oppose him.

While Zumalacarregui continued skilfully to organise, combine, and direct his hardy, quick-moving guerilla columns, Don Carlos, in July, 1834, escaped from England, hurried across France and presented himself to the triumphant little army arrayed under his banners. He was received in all honour and reverence. His star was indeed in the ascendant; his adversaries were beaten and dispirited; desertions from their ranks were frequent. He gave, moreover, to the cause the advantage of a visible head, a rightful heir, camping it in the midst of soldiers fighting to place him upon his lawful throne. He was

the champion of their threatened Fueros. He was also fondly believed to be there, having at his back those sources of wealth and power which had rescued the late King from the bondage of heretical Liberals.

Beyond this Don Carlos added a mere figure-head. While eager enough to be king, he had few of the qualities which were likely now to carry him within reaching distance of the crown. He was gifted with little military instinct; further, an ingrained lethargy and vacillation operated alike against action on his own part, or any useful adoption of the aims of his counsellors. It seems to have been only through the energetic urgings of his wife that he was induced to quit England. His brother's stubbornness, religious bigotry, opposition to all change, he possessed in an intensified form. To his petty Court flocked, there to be warmly welcomed, men of his own extreme views; heart and soul reactionary absolutists; priests who would have swept from the earth every creed but their own. "Don Carlos and Despotism" was the real motto of his Royal Standard.

At Madrid the Queen Regent continued to be beset by many difficulties, though for another year after the coming of Don Carlos she had at her side Martinez de la Rosa, who did much to restrain the violence of the Radicals. It was, however, impossible for him, in the face of defeat upon defeat at the seat of war, to maintain the popularity with which his appointment had been hailed. In July of 1834 the capital witnessed a terrible outbreak of fury directed against the religious orders, arising from the belief that they had instigated the poisoning of the city wells. The charge was doubtless false; cholera was raging at the time, and the symptoms of an attack of it are identical with those of some forms of poisoning. On the other hand, the priests were seen in every way, including the actual use of arms, to be the partisans of Don Carlos. No great wonder, then, that a people smarting under reverses and afflictions should have had their worst passions for vengeance aroused. Horrible scenes occurred: a number of convents, Jesuits' quarters, and churches were assailed; many of their inmates, including even priests at their altars, were slain. Women were seen to be taking a prominent part in these deeds.

A week after this the Cortes were opened, and though they were interdicted, as we have seen, regarding the introduction of new legislative measures, all the same the debate on the Queen's

Speech opened the way to all manner of discussions, touching the Royal Statute itself, the public services, trial by jury, the liberty of the individual and of the Press. The debates on the organisation of the militia, and a petition presented in favour of the reinstatement of the revolutionary officials of 1820–23, showed a strong democratical spirit in the Lower Chamber. Such procedure accorded little with Martinez de la Rosa's avowed intention of reforming the country by a gradual process only. There ensued dissensions and frequent changes in his Cabinet. The feebleness of the Government, already shown by the impunity accorded to the murderers of their clergy, received additional demonstration in the early part of 1835. A mere lieutenant planned and brought to a head a military rising, leading to the death of General Canterac, who was attempting to quell it. The mutinous troops, after barricading themselves and causing additional bloodshed, were permitted to proceed to the seat of war as an honoured body.

While the people were clamouring generally, and the Cortes developing an opposition to the Royal Statute no less eloquent than violent, Queen Christina herself, by the partiality she was seen to evince, even on the most public occasions, for an officer of the Guards named Muñoz, was throwing additional discredit on her Regency. As a matter of fact, she had married Muñoz three months after the King's death, though a strict secrecy was maintained in regard to the circumstance. To the Government, however, the most pressing danger in every sense lay in the Basque Provinces. When Don Carlos arrived there, in July, 1834, Quesada, the Queen's General, after boasting that he would make short work of such bandits as the insurgents, had failures only to record against the perplexing tactics of the ever active Zumalacarregui, who, in short, manœuvred his adversary into committing himself to a series of harassing, fruitless marches. The only considerable engagement, fought near Pamplona, was indecisive; but whereas the Government was experiencing no small difficulties as to making good the inevitable wear and tear, while every week found the Carlist muster rolls lengthening, Quesada's plight was that of an altogether worsted General.

He was susperseded by Rodil, who arrived with fifteen thousand additional troops, made up chiefly of the division which had lately been operating under him in Portugal. He appeared upon the scene simultaneously with Don Carlos, and made the most strenuous efforts to possess himself of the person of the

Prince. While these were being unsuccessfully carried on until September, the Queen's Generals experienced several defeats, not indeed important, but sufficient to demonstrate to all that the Carlists were still holding a victorious ascendancy. This brought about the appointment as Commander-in-Chief of Mina, who had earned a high reputation as a guerrilla chief during the Peninsular War, and had afterwards shown no small ability when in the field, struggling for the Constitutionists, in Catalonia and elsewhere. Before, however, he could arrive Zumalacarregui surprised a convoy two thousand strong in the vicinity of Logroño, killing or capturing the entire escort; a success which he followed up at Alegria, near Vitoria, by a signal and complete victory over Osma, who was in temporary command, and whose casualties amounted to near two thousand, including prisoners. In such dispiriting circumstances Mina, during the last days of October, arrived at the seat of war; but he was now in a shattered state of health, and could barely move about on horseback. His dispositions, nevertheless, administrative and military, aided materially in keeping the Carlists in check during his tenure of command. He was relieved at his own request in April, 1835.

Valdés, the War Minister himself, was now entrusted with the command. He came upon the scene with considerable additional troops, and possessed of the idea that by acting with strong columns only he would work a complete change in the state of affairs. Zumalacarregui's response to this was to divide his own forces into yet smaller units; he then, after a very few days, demonstrated to his adversary, in a most unmistakable fashion, that either the new system itself, or Valdés who attempted to apply it, was a pitiful failure. On the 21st of April the two commanders entered into conflict, in the broken hilly country lying between Vitoria and Estella. Valdés quickly found himself in a position where his eighteen thousand men availed him nothing against his opponent's force of less than a third of that strength. Desultory firing was followed by a night of rain and snow, which the Queen's troops spent in confusion, the Carlists comfortably in villages. Next day Valdés decided to make for Estella; but his enemy were all around him, and he only attained his goal in a thoroughly beaten, dispirited, and demoralised condition. In killed his loss was about five hundred; quite six times that number of men were, however, wounded, missing, or had thrown away their arms, which could not be replaced.

Other disasters followed. A Queen's force, three thousand strong, was overwhelmed near Guernica, on the 1st of May. During the month Trevino and Estella passed into the hands of the enemy; at the end of it Oraa was driven out of the Baztan valley. About the same time Villafranca, in Guipuzcoa, was besieged. The General despatched to its succour was Espartero, a man destined soon to be playing a prominent part in the affairs of Spain. He had already fought in the Peninsular War, also in South America, and so far had more than held his own against the Carlists in the extreme north. The ever vigilant Zumalacarregui, however, causing him to be assailed in rain and darkness, inflicted on him a loss of upwards of two thousand men. Villafranca capitulated, as did Tolosa, also Vergara, which Don Carlos entered amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm.

Almost from the outset the war had been disgraced by a horrible accompaniment. In either camp prisoners captured, after fair fighting, had on several occasions been slaughtered in cold blood, sometimes by the hundred. Upon whom the blame should fall for the first acts in this barbarous procedure it is not easy to say: perhaps upon certain of the Christino leaders; but with the justification that of those whom they so executed, some at least were men who had deserted from the Queen's service, taking with them their arms, in order to fight for Don Carlos. Once begun, these terrible fusillades and throat-cuttings were continued with a disgusting ferocity. Women, and even children, were occasionally included in the pitiless slaughter. Towards putting a stop to so disgraceful a state of affairs the initiative was taken by Great Britain. France seconded, and in March, 1835, Lord Elliot was despatched on a special mission, charged to give effect to so natural a desire. He proceeded to the headquarters of Zumalacarregui and of Valdés, soon after the Estella disaster, and quickly brought about the signing of a Convention under which the leaders on either side undertook in future to exchange their prisoners. But the Opposition in the Cortes were determined to distort the whole purpose of this mission. It was, they proclaimed to the public, an insufferable interference on the part of foreigners. "Are we to have the French again in Madrid?" they indignantly demanded. "Is not this a recognition of the Carlists as belligerents?" To such-like complaints, altogether unjustifiable, was tacked the fiction that Lord Elliot was empowered to arrange a marriage between the infant Isabella and the eldest son of Don Carlos, and that the latter was to be appointed Regent until it could take place.

As to the Quadruple Alliance and intervention: France had so far contented herself with stopping supplies at the frontier, Great Britain with sending some arms and ammunition: Portugal seemed about to witness a renewal of civil strife. Now, however, with Zumalacarregui gaining victory after victory in the north, and other districts of Spain in an ominously perturbed condition, the Government were necessarily driven towards looking for aid from the above Powers. Llauder had already, as War Minister, recommended that it should be invited: Valdés, in the midst of his disasters and after taking counsel with his Generals, had despatched a special messenger to Madrid to say that without such aid it was absolutely impossible to subdue the Carlists. On the contrary, the Opposition had, whenever the idea was mooted in the Cortes, raised against it the wildest outcry, thundering forth speech upon speech, while Martinez de la Rosa had on several occasions stated that he trusted there would be no need of foreign intervention in arms. Nevertheless overtures were made to Great Britain and France. These, in brief, were politely declined; but before the fact was known in Madrid the Cortes had been closed and the Ministry had, on the 7th of June, resigned. Their Chief saw fully how hopeless were all his attempts to make headway with his temperate reforming measures. The Opposition could certainly point to a most damaging array of weaknesses and failures, but its leading members were themselves an altogether impracticable faction, blind to the plainest evidence, deaf to all reason, playing indirectly into the hands of the Carlists, and by their violent speeches adding greatly to the unsettlement of the country.

By this time it was a point of urgency for Don Carlos to decide whether he should strike a blow at Madrid. The embroilments there, the demoralisation of the Queen's army, tempted the enterprise. It was advocated by Zumalacarregui, who instead was directed to endeavour to bring about the fall of Bilbao, a town which, from its position and affluence, formed perhaps the most valuable stronghold of the Queen in the north. Here, while directing the operations of the siege, he was struck on the 15th of June by a musket-ball. Ten days later died this renowned chief who, beginning as a mere insurgent leader, without a gun or a mounted man amongst his following, brought such energy and natural gifts to the aid of the cause which he took up, that Don Carlos passed from a refugee to the head of an organised, brave, devoted army thirty thousand strong. His

fame is undoubtedly tarnished by those cruel butcheries of prisoners to which allusion has been made. To his credit it is that, had it been in his power, he would have summarily ejected from the petty Court of his Prince the whole crew of ignorant counsellors, fanatical priests, sycophants, and time-servers there gathered together. At his death the sun of Don Carlos had already shone its brightest: it was now to sink towards a setting by no means brilliant.

Martinez de la Rosa was succeeded by Toreno, who had held office in the previous Ministry and had skilfully piloted the country through a financial crisis. He attempted a Cabinet of fusion, the admission of colleagues desirous of introducing those more democratic measures for which there was so plain an outcry; but he incurred unpopularity at the outset by attempting to obtain a fulfilment of the stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance. Before the end of a month the animosity against the priesthood, as the abettors of Don Carlos, and against the convents as sources of his domination, again burst forth, this time chiefly at Saragossa, Reuss, and Barcelona. The latter town in this turmoil of strife figured prominently: in addition to the burning of religious houses and the savage slaughter of their inmates, it witnessed the assassination of Bassa, the General in command. A powerful Junta sprang into existence, assuming high powers and demanding radical constitutional changes: an example which found numerous imitators. Many of these Juntas dispossessed the officials, and the usual clamour arose for the Constitution of 1812. The militia, as a rule, so far sympathised with these movements that it remained useless as a means of repression. In the capital there was a regular hostile demonstration of a considerable portion of this force. Thus, with the regular army mostly at the seat of war, or necessarily distributed elsewhere in fear of outbreaks, Toreno, like his predecessor, found himself powerless as an executive anthority. It was the now mounting revolutionary wave rather than his Cabinet which decreed the ousting of the Jesuits, the disestablishment of the religious houses and the sale of their property, measures which were proceeded with at this juncture.

Toreno, after trying changes amongst his ministers, resigned in September, 1835, having held office for little more than three months. His tenure of it, however, witnessed a turn of the tide in Carlist affairs. The siege of Bilbao was raised on the 1st of July: Cordova issued from it, marched to Vitoria, which was in some straits, and on the 16th of the month defeated Moreno

in a position of his own choosing at Mendigorria, near Estella. The Quadruple Alliance now bore some fruits. France contributed four thousand men from her Foreign Legion, and moved additional troops to the vicinity of the Pyrenees. Great Britain permitted a considerable enrolment of volunteers, who appeared upon the scene as a division under De Lacy Evans. A naval squadron was also furnished by the same Power. Portugal placed in the field an army corps six thousand strong commanded by Das Antas.

Within the Basque Provinces a lengthy lull now occurred in the operations. Don Carlos took upon himself their direction, a task for which he had little capacity, while his counsellors, blind to the many real weaknesses of the whole position, were swayed chiefly by their own petty interests. Amongst these courtiers one main fear was lest another great commander, such as Zumalacarregui, should become master of the situation, and so find equally high favour in the eyes of their Prince: it is said that amongst them there was open rejoicing at the death of their brave chief. Generals who owed their advancement to these intriguers were scarcely likely to place additional victories on the banners of the Carlists. The latter were, however, holding, seemingly impregnable, a wide mountainous stretch, and Cordova, the Queen's Commander-in-Chief, now proposed to circumvallate them, to besiege them bodily as in a huge fortress. The plan failed, or had few tangible results: it necessitated a very large force, at the same time that many bodies of troops were required for keeping open the main communications; for, though Pamplona, San Sebastian, Vitoria, and Bilbao held out for the Queen, they were frequently isolated, occasionally besieged, and some of them certainly would have fallen to the Carlists had they not been almost wholly without heavy guns. The additional men sent to Cordova at this period were only partially trained, and proved unequal to the strain of a winter campaign. Further, the forwarding of supplies to the army could not be made to keep pace with its increasing numbers.

Before, however, the winter of 1835–36 set in, a changed plan of campaign was decided upon likewise at the Carlist headquarters. The clearer-sighted of the advisers of the Prince saw that actual headway towards the throne was not being made: his soldiers were but holding their own in a twentieth part of the kingdom; resources were becoming exhausted; the inhabitants were manifesting signs of discontent. Thus took definite shape the project of sending forth columns, in

view of gaining over to the cause other portions of a country in a state of discontent and distraction. The first of these, a force two thousand five hundred strong under Guergué, starting from Estella early in August, 1835, pushed eastwards north of the Ebro almost to the sea, levying contributions in money, rations, and horses as it marched. Many additional thousands joined it; nevertheless the men who originally composed it demanded to be led back before the end of the year. In January, 1836, Batanero, a priest, headed a small expedition from Guipuzcoa, which, after menacing Segovia and La Granja, returned booty-laden to the north. Another in July under Garcia also marched nearly to the capital. These excursions from the seat of war, if of not much service to Don Carlos, yet show the humiliating state of impotence to which the Government was reduced.

During the same period a young Carlist leader, Cabrera, was keeping aflame, in a very considerable area of the eastern districts, a civil war which threatened to become no less appalling to the Government than Zumalacarregui's master-strokes had been in the north. A devotion to Don Carlos, in the worst and best senses of the word, had led to the appointment of Cabrera, when still under thirty, as commander of the whole region under consideration. The Ebro where it quits Aragon may be taken as the centre of this eastern spread of Carlism. Here already for some time Carlist bands had been infesting the country; it was, in fact, to gather them together for consistent action that Guergué's expedition had been planned. But the task was no light one; for the Carlist ranks were filled largely with men who had taken up arms much more in view of booty and general license, than from any desire to see Don Carlos on the throne. They were ill-disciplined, disorderly bodies of men, who refused sometimes to combine with men of a province not their own, sometimes to fight under a leader not of their own choice. Yet Cabrera, by his personality, his enthusiasm, his ability as a guerrilla chief, had under his banners at one time fully twenty-five thousand men. Mina as Captain-General brought about some dispersal of these banditti; but the warfare, of an essentially guerrilla type, continued throughout 1836. Only two at all considerable engagements were fought, Molina and Chiva, on both of which occasions the Carlists suffered defeat. A barbarous ferociousness was not long in developing itself: both sides took to shooting their prisoners; a course of atrocities in which Cabrera figures infamously prominent. Certainly his mother was taken

and shot in cold blood by his enemies, but before this his savage instincts had been fully revealed.

Certain Carlist excursions have been touched upon. These fall quite into insignificance compared with the wonderful march around of Gomez, who, starting from Alava in June, 1836, with less than three thousand men, seized Oviedo, passed within sight of Lugo, occupied Santiago, and then turned eastwards into Leon. Espartero gained a brief success when he, in common with other commanders, attempted a pursuit; but Gomez outmanœuvred them all, or, if brought to action, dispersed and then reunited his force, clothing and provisioning it as he went. He passed through Palencia, then on to Valladolid; after that, turning south-east, he marched, drums beating and colours flying, within fifty miles of the capital. Great was the consternation there: for the pursuit were equipped five or six bodies of troops, one of which, under Lopez, was obliged to capitulate in its entirety.

In September Gomez was joined by Cabrera; but a combined movement on Madrid was frustrated by Alaix, who on the 20th completely worsted his adversaries at Villa Robledo. Nothing daunted, they passed into Andalucia, where the old Moorish capital, Cordova, surrendered, and the silver mines of Almaden yielded a rich booty. After a run northwards through Estremadura nearly to the Tagus the two Carlist leaders quarrelled, almost came to blows, and parted. Gomez then marched on to the Mediterranean near Gibraltar. In this corner of the Peninsula, towards the end of November, three Queen's Generals—Alaix, Narvaez, and Rivero—sought to surround their foe. But Gomez slipped through after a somewhat severe handling in which he lost one hundred killed and one hundred and fifteen prisoners. The inevitable Spanish jealousy prevented his pursuit. Narvaez and Alaix had a fierce dispute as to who should command: their respective forces took up the quarrel: several regiments flatly refused to obey orders. Needless to say, Gomez took advantage of this. He quitted Andalucia by the Despeña Perros Pass, marched without further molestation across the centre of Spain, and before the end of the year returned, with more men than he had at starting, to the Basque Provinces.

Here during the summer of 1835 the British Legion, containing many men who had already seen service, commenced to add its strength to the forces in the field. It was, however, ill-organised; the men had not been sufficiently worked together before they found themselves undergoing the hardships of a

perilous mountain warfare against a brave and ready enemy. They were ill-fed and rarely received any pay: with a result that, as in the case of the fleet of Sartorius in like circumstances, there was much mutinous conduct. Throughout, a large portion of the men filled the hospitals, where they were shamefully neglected. In this quarter, the war was not very eventful during 1836. In May there was some severe fighting, barren of results, around the heights of Arlaban, and in July the British Legion suffered a severe reverse in an attempt to capture Fuentarabia. At the end of the year interest settled upon Bilbao, again besieged by the Carlists; but its relief by Espartero, now Commander-in-Chief of the Queen's army, effected amidst snow and storms, did not materially alter existing conditions. There the Carlists were in possession of the Basque Provinces, while the Government, in addition to this war, had also to contend with a formidable insurrection scattered over Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. On the other hand, the expedition of Gomez established the fact that, outside these territories, the people were little enough inclined to take up arms for Don Carlos.

Mendizabal in July, 1835, followed Toreno as Premier. He was one of the 1820 revolutionaries, had afterwards gained much financial experience abroad, and was a proclaimed admirer of British political institutions. He gave seats in his Cabinet to some advanced Progressists: the Moderates at this period were quite belying their name: they were distinctly a party of reaction. Captains-General of Liberal opinions were sent to several of the provinces. He dealt adroitly with the various Juntas which had arisen: by converting them into committees of armament and defence, at the same time that he restored certain local governing bodies, he disarmed a menacing enemy. A call to arms was made of every Spaniard between the age of eighteen and forty: the militia, from whom the title "National" had been withheld, now received it. His great work, however, consisted in his vigorous suppression of the monastic system in all its branches. Convents were in future to be used solely for educational purposes; a great number were destroyed. Some few nunneries were spared, but the sale of an enormous amount of Church property was forthwith commenced.

In these measures the Cortes, assembling in November, and the country fully supported Mendizabal. A General Election in February, 1836, gave him an overwhelming majority. Yet a rapid descent from power awaited him. The Court could

scarcely be expected to enter readily into his plans. He had found himself under the necessity of speaking with significant plainness to the Regent, around whom for some time had been gathering force a Camarilla, naturally more than usually active at a period when Radical measures and attacks upon the vital interests of the Church were occupying the Cortes. He had boastfully proclaimed that he would end the war, yet there was King Carlos defiant as ever. The stock-jobbing fraternity had managed to divert into their own pockets a large portion of the proceeds of the sales of Church property. Public officials found their salaries even more in arrears than usual. Mendizabal's majority soon proved unwieldy and split into factions, some of which went to the extreme of joining the Queen's party. Political friends acted traitorously. Friction with the Court was heightened in regard to the filling up of certain high appointments, with a result that on the 15th of May he resigned.

The Cortes, however, were but reflecting the disappointed, frenzied, refractory state of the country. Isturiz, who was now called to the helm, could not well have commenced his brief voyage more inauspiciously. His Cabinet was composed of Moderates; he himself and Alcala Galiano, Minister of Marine, were deserters from an Opposition nearly wholly Progressist, which received him amidst an uproar of disapprobation. Within a week a non-confidence vote was passed. Then the Cortes were dissolved, a step which further exasperated the Progressists, for one development of Constitutional government in Spain was that a Ministry in being had it in its power, at a General Election, to sweep in its own candidates wholesale. The storm echoed around many of the chief cities throughout the land. In vain Isturiz announced that the Royal Statute would be revised, the war ended, reforms introduced, and public order restored. The denunciations extended to the Regent, who in the selection both of officials and Generals was clamoured against as favouring the Moderates. Add that Gomez was glaringly revealing a paralysed central Government and a demoralised military service, that the Press and the clubs crowded with agitators were running riot, and we have glanced at the precursors to the upheaval of 1836.

In July the elections took place, with what may be termed the prearranged results. By the end of the month or early part of August a revolutionary wave had swept across the country. At Malaga the civil and military governors were assassinated: elsewhere there was no bloodshed. Cadiz, together with the other

chief towns of Andalucia, revolted, an example followed by Saragossa and most of Aragon, as well as by Cartagena, Alicante, and Murcia. As a rule, municipal authorities, militia, and populace made common cause against the Government. Drums beat, the populace shouted for the Constitution of 1812, sang Riego's hymn, and began to reconstruct the pillars which were to commemorate the assertion of the will of the nation. In Madrid Quesada, the Captain-General, succeeded in disarming five thousand of the militia and suppressing the rising disorders.

Strange and startling the climax. The Court was at La Granja, a summer residence in the Guadarrama range, about forty miles from the capital. The troops there, including a portion of the body-guard, had fallen under the influences which were agitating generally the country. The regimental officers were divided in their views : the sergeants were unanimous enough, and matured a full plan of operations. On the night of the 12th of August a portion of the troops, acting on a preconcerted signal, suddenly assembled under arms. The sergeants assumed command, and marched the men from the barracks to the palace, where, amidst cries of "Long live the Constitution of 1812! Long live our Constitutional Queen!" they were admitted by their comrades on guard. They were fully determined on a face-to-face interview with Queen Christina, and they obtained it. A sergeant—Gomez—after dropping reverently on his knee and kissing the Queen's hand, spoke out plainly as to their demands, which were, in brief, the Constitution of 1812, the dismissal of the present reactionary Ministry, and the restitution of their arms to the militiamen of Madrid. The Queen and her advisers, amongst whom was one member of the Cabinet, attempted by promises and arguments to pacify the insurgents. All in vain : she was compelled to yield ; and in this strange fashion was the Constitution of 1812 reimposed upon Spain.

In Madrid the current of events did not run so unstained by bloodshed. The garrison of regular troops at first stood firm, while a mission was despatched to La Granja in the hope that their disaffected brethren would submit. This failed : the menacing attitude of the insurgents there clearly indicated that they would yield their advantage only to compulsion. Madrid soon bodily inclined to the revolutionary movement. There was some street fighting ; Quesada was assassinated ; the ministers and their most prominent partisans evaded the chances of a like fate by concealment or flight. A general

concession of all the demands of the leaders of the revolt was announced, and Sergeant Gomez became the chief figure in a triumphant procession through the streets—a marked contrast to the return of the Regent and the infant Princesses. To these convulsive changes the armies in the field gave a ready assent.

Unmistakable as seemed this demonstration against reactionary tendencies—against, that is to say, a government such as Don Carlos would have introduced—yet the accompaniments to the scenes at La Granja had awakened serious alarms amongst certain sections of the community. Many who had hitherto adhered firmly to the young Queen—nobles, ecclesiastics, retired officers of rank, politicians of weight in the Moderate party—were at this juncture inclined to regard Carlos, on the throne, as a feasible deliverance from the prevailing chaos and prostration of Spain. Not, however, would they so consent, without some guarantee on his part that he recognised absolutism as now intolerable to the bulk of the people. A year or so before the La Granja outburst there had been attempts at a compromise between Don Carlos and Christina; but the latter, stung by those days of humiliation, now hated her connection with the men in power. She was prepared to fly to the Court and protection of her brother, Ferdinand II., King of the Two Sicilies; and, owing to her relationship to Muñoz, as well as the frivolous bearing, real or rumoured, of herself and her Camarilla in regard to State affairs, her disappearance, apart from that of the young Queen, would probably not have been greatly resented. As to the men of influence just spoken of, some sent emissaries to the camp of Don Carlos, others held out promises of assistance in men and money, but provided always that he would show signs of an abandonment of his extreme views. His French and other foreign partisans implored him to issue some manifesto regarding a political oblivion if victorious; to hold out a promise, however vague, of a Constitution; to acknowledge, in some fashion, that the days of Philip II. belonged to a buried past. All in vain. Fanatical priests and absolutist advisers maintained their sway. The unconditional surrender of the Madrid Government was demanded. This meant that the war must be fought out to the bitter death.

The remarkable perambulations of Gomez—for which, by the way, he was arrested and imprisoned by order of Don Carlos—and the relief of Bilbao by Espartero were followed,

in March, 1837, by an attempt on a vast scale of the Queen's Generals, who could now dispose of a total of some eighty-five thousand men, to drive their opponents, numbering about thirty-three thousand, from their main positions, the centre of which may be taken as that of Guipuzcoa. Don Sebastian, a kinsman of Don Carlos, was now his Commander-in-Chief, and the operations against him depended for their success on the precision and certainty of action of three separate columns, moving from Pamplona, San Sebastian, and Bilbao, commanded respectively by Saarsfield, Evans having with him the British Legion, and Espartero. A crushing blow was to be dealt, which would compel the Carlists to evacuate their fortified strongholds and seek refuge in localities where the inhabitants would be less eager for the cause and supplies more difficult to obtain.

Saarsfield, encountering adverse weather only, turned back in a day or two. Espartero showed little enough energy in pushing forward; but, according to his version of the arrangements, he was not to strike until the other two Generals had effected a junction. According to his detractors, he was too afraid lest his Bilbao laurels should suffer soilment: at all events, he too returned to his base. Thus Evans, uninformed of this withdrawal of all support, found himself attacking very formidable heights near Hernani, against the Carlists free to concentrate all their forces at that point. A week's fighting ensued, including a day of well-earned victory and one of disastrous reverse and panic, followed by a flight back to the shelter of San Sebastian. So failed this imposing attempt to pierce Carlism to the heart. The victors were doubly elated, for they believed that they had been given a second Zumalacarregui in Don Sebastian, who, with however a position much the best strategically, had skilfully made all the dispositions for defeating the combined attack.

Two months after this, however, the operations assumed a new attitude. Don Carlos himself led forth into the enemy's country a small army about fourteen thousand strong. Secrecy as to its departure had been carefully maintained. The time, the morrow of a success, was propitious. Spain's legitimate monarch would show himself, in person, to his expectant subjects beyond the Basque Provinces; they would flock around him in tens of thousands; an irresistible force would then march upon the capital. Such the flattering tale told by hope. The scene of the venture was in the first instance to be the

north-east of the Peninsula, where, and southwards to the mountainous borderland of Aragon and Valencia, hostile bands, some of them two or three thousand strong, had during the preceding year so infested the country that, shortly before the La Granja outbreak, a special "Army of the Centre" was organised to act against them. But these bodies of men, as throughout, were only willing to fight, or rather to forage and levy contributions, after their own guerrilla fashion. Still, though Guergué had failed and Cabrera had been only partially successful, it was assumed that the magic influence of Royalty would conjure up cohesion and concord.

On May 15th Don Carlos quitted Estella to march towards this land of seeming promise. Some of the signs could hardly be regarded as auspicious. The Prince was accompanied by a large following of non-combatants, including the counsellors and priests who had already so damaged his cause: men now eagerly intent upon a full share of the favours and rewards which their royal master would soon be dispensing. There was discord, too, between Don Sebastian, who commanded, and Moreno, the chief of his Staff: a situation not likely to be improved by Don Carlos issuing his own orders direct, and at the promptings of his inner circle of advisers. The question as to a direct march upon Madrid, or eastwards, had for some months been hotly discussed, and continued to be disputed even by the rank and file. Navarre, however, was traversed without opposition, and Aragon as far as Huesca. Here Irribarren, who commanded one of the three Queen's forces now in motion, disdaining to await a combined movement, attacked the Carlists on May 24th, with somewhat superior numbers. After a stubborn fight he was defeated with a loss of about one thousand five hundred men killed, wounded, or prisoners—a loss three times that of the Carlists, but as the latter attempted no pursuit their surviving opponents were able to make for one or other of the corps which had not been engaged.

At Barbastro, on June 2nd, another well-contested action was fought, resulting in another Carlist victory, on this occasion over Oraa; and here again the defeated were left unmolested. Don Carlos was next opposed on the east bank of the Segre, and defeated, though not very decisively, on June 12th, by Baron de Meer. It was now becoming clear that, regarded as a rallying force, success was not attending the progress of the expedition. The additions from all sources had but made good

the losses, amounting to three thousand or more. The men had shown the utmost bravery in action, but, in view of celerity of movement, all the artillery had been left behind; this disadvantage led to much grumbling. The latter part of the march, through a difficult country where supplies had not been forthcoming, had proved harassing in the extreme. Discipline was ceasing to have place; the men, ill-fed and neglected, took to foraging. After remaining at Solsona until June 19th, the force marched southwards, and at the end of the month reached the Ebro, a little above Tortosa.

The passage of the river, on the 29th, simplified by the inertness of the enemy, was assured by a helping hand from Cabrera, who brought to the spot a useful, well-disciplined body of troops. The region of the dominance of the latter was now close ahead; the cause of Don Carlos again brightened. From this quarter a march upon Madrid gave reasonable promise of success; Cabrera strongly urged it: instead it was decided to push on for Valencia, and on July 11th the expeditionary column had sighted that city. From the partisans of the Prince within, including a portion of the weak garrison, much was expected; but they took no decisive steps. Oraa and other Christino Generals moved towards the Carlist forces; with the result that on the 15th an engagement took place at Chiva, twenty miles or so to the westward of Valencia. There were some ten thousand men on either side, and Don Carlos was so far worsted that he was compelled to quit the main road, leading to the capital, for the mountainous, ill-supplied district to the north of Valencia. Here, with headquarters at Cantavieja, he remained inactive a whole month, from July 22nd.

This carries military affairs to a year later than the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1812, by the revolt of the sergeants at La Granja. That event raised to the head of a new Ministry Calatrava, a determined leader in many of the liberal movements of preceding years. Preliminary to the elections for Constituent Cortes, which were to assemble in October, 1836, the Queen Regent issued a proclamation to the effect that the first efforts of Members would be directed to a full consideration of the Constitution of 1812; to its revision, if necessary, or the substitution of another in its place. Meanwhile the Cabinet set to work with vigour. As on a previous occasion when Juntas had everywhere sprung up, these were now, by fusion with local governing bodies, permitted to continue as Committees of Armament and Defence. The sale of

national property was proceeded with; the belongings of many Carlists and their abettors were confiscated; the stipends of priests who were acting against the Government were annexed. An additional fifty thousand men were to be raised for the regular army, and the bulk of the militia was to be mobilised. Some restrictions as to the Press were removed.

The powers wielded by the Ministry were made use of to send to the new Cortes a large Progressist majority, consisting, however, of men imbued with an opinion that the Constitution of 1812 was possible, in Spain, only if duly modified. The winter months were spent in discussing and codifying what became the Constitution of 1837, duly sworn to by the Regent in June of that year. The Cortes were to consist of a double-chambered Assembly. The Sovereign was to select the Members of the Senate, one from each list of three voted for by the constituencies. The total of this House was to be three-fifths of that of the Deputies, who were to be elected in the proportion of one for every fifty thousand of the population. At each General Election one-third of the Senate was to be renewed. Members of both Chambers were eligible for re-election. As to the people at large, all were held to be equal in the eye of the law. Arbitrary arrests and domiciliary visits were to cease. There was to be full *liberty* as to petitioning the Sovereign or the Cortes in writing; also as to printing and publishing. Press offences were to be submitted to the verdict of a jury. All special privileges, including the Basque Fueros, were to be abolished.

We see here the Spanish people given a freedom greater than that enjoyed by any of the other Continental nations—a change which, with its origin at La Granja, to some extent aided Don Carlos in making France less zealous as to the provisions of the Quadruple Alliance and in bringing him some extra contributions from the most reactionary of the European Courts. His supporters, too, in Madrid began to regain courage about this time. The continuance of the existing Regency had indeed been greeted with every sign of approval. But was Queen Christina, at heart, the Constitutionist she had so publicly and ostentatiously avowed herself to be? In the face of a most dangerous ultra-democratical section of the community her leanings could not but be towards the Moderates. Barcelona in the spring of this year had, through its municipality, its militia, and its Press practically declared for a republic. Hence the Opposition, despite their minority, felt hopeful; hence

a reactionary Camarilla was unusually busy during the midsummer of 1837. How, then, would the capital act should Don Carlos appear before its gates? How the priesthood? Calatrava's Cortes having actively proceeded with the abolition of tithes and the transference of Church property to the State, while admission to the Lower Chamber was not, as in the 1812 Code, permissible to the clergy, the latter were striving hard for the return to power of the Moderates.

A much more ominous danger to the Government, to the Queen Regent, to Isabella and Don Carlos alike, was the fact that, at such a critical conjuncture, a political party was found to be intriguing with the leading Generals in the field. This was rendered the more easy from the fact that, while the army generally had acquiesced in the changes resulting from the La Granja rising, many officers had resented the humiliations to which the Royal Family had been subjected. Certain designing emissaries of the Moderates had succeeded in fomenting these feelings, and with such effect that, on August 17th, the whole of the officers of a brigade quartered near Madrid refused to perform their duties unless the Calatrava Ministry were changed. It resigned, already discredited, chiefly by reason of an extremist Left, which was clamouring against the new Constitution as too reactionary. Thus the whole situation was extremely complex. There was certainly an access of Royalism, but, all things considered, it seemed just as likely that an ever volatile capital would open its arms to Don Carlos as rally round its two Queens.

The course of the campaign is now resumed. The marching away from the Basque country of so large a force under Don Carlos, in May, 1837, had rendered easy the occupation by his adversaries of Hernani, Irun, Fuentarabia, and other places by the end of that month. In these operations the British Legion under Evans took part, as well as some bluejackets and marines from Lord John Hay's squadron. On July 20th a Carlist column 4,500 strong, formed in Alava, crossed the Ebro under Zaratiegui, seized Segovia, occupied La Granja, and on August 11th was within sight of the capital, where, needless to say, it caused no small consternation. Fortunately Espartero, who had marched southwards through a portion of the hitherto essentially Carlist country, was near enough to lend a helping hand. Zaratiegui deemed it prudent to retire; he, however, after some circuitous marching, obtained possession of Valladolid on September 15th.

Cantavieja, where we left Don Carlos, had long been a stronghold and place of arms of Cabrera; consequently the expeditionary force was fairly well equipped when, in the middle of August, it was again in motion. Four light-calibre guns had been added. As it marched northwards, Oraa, who had been watching it from Teruel, moved along parallel to it. When Espartero was at liberty to quit Madrid he too marched for the scene. A third corps had moved southwards from Saragossa under Buerens. These three, of course, should have worked in unison. Instead, Don Carlos, on August 24th, came across Buerens isolated, and acting aimlessly from want of information. The engagement which ensued—at Villar de los Navarros, in the Daroca district—proved a decisive victory for the Carlists. Nearly one hundred officers, together with two thousand men, were killed, wounded, or made prisoners; five thousand muskets fell to the victors. Espartero now effected a junction with Oraa; but Don Carlos, feebly pursued, went off south-westwards, through Tarrancon, over the Tagus near Fuentedueña, and, on September 12th, stood with eighteen thousand men in front of Madrid.

The city, so often ready to run wild with alarm, steadied itself. A final proposition from Don Carlos as to negotiations was rejected by Christina, who, accompanied by her daughter, reviewed such troops as could be hurriedly organised on the spot. These were few enough, chiefly militia and volunteers, enthusiastic, however, eager and ready shoulder to shoulder to fight for their young Queen. Espartero and Oraa, too, were in the environs of the capital. They were soon in touch with the enemy, but no regular battle ensued. The Carlist Princes saw that the fortune of war had declared against them: the men soon knew it, and lost heart with a lost cause. A retreat commenced, followed up, but with little energy, by Espartero. Cabrera and other leaders went off, without any permission, taking their men with them. The force fell to about four thousand in number. Zaratiegui, on the other hand, promptly answered the summons of his chief, and brought to his aid a well-disciplined body of troops, who materially assisted the defeated expedition in regaining the Basque Provinces. This was finally effected, in very great disorder, by the end of October.

Menacing to the throne of Isabella as had been this danger, a no less terrible one had, during the two months or so before the appearance of Don Carlos at Madrid, been running its course

through a part of the Queen's army. A regiment of the British Legion, at Hernani, had seconded a demand for their arrears of pay by a mutiny. The money was raised by a forced contribution; but some Spanish regiments, regarding this as an affront, also revolted. Leopold O'Donnell, by an exercise of cool daring, quieted this outbreak. At Miranda de Ebro the troops assassinated Escalera, their General. A similar fate befell the Governor and some of the leading citizens of Vitoria, where the rebelling regiments afterwards extorted a large sum of money. Saarsfield was murdered at Pamplona during the course of a military revolt. Other places in the Basque theatre of war witnessed a like bloodthirsty spirit on the part of the Christino soldiery.

It was inevitable that there should be much demoralisation, resulting from the long-continued strain of a severe and for the most part unsuccessful war. The men could not but be galled by the way they were left neglected as to pay and provisioning. But the most infamous feature in these seditions is that they were, in part, fomented by political agitators, who did not hesitate to spread reports that the senior officers were appropriating to their own use the pay of the rank and file. Their object in this, as in the case near Madrid already referred to, was the overthrow of the party which had established the new Constitution. Espartero, as soon as at liberty, brought the delinquents to justice with a quick and merciless hand. Several he had shot on the spot; many others he sent off to the galleys at Ceuta and elsewhere. Some of the guilty regiments were disbanded.

Partly from these outbreaks, partly because Don Carlos during his absence had been zealously served, the military position on his return to the north of the Ebro was still hopeful. Before the end of the year Garcia had led out another expeditionary force; Cabrera was again dominant in his own particular region. But such-like adventurous devotedness was all rendered fruitless by the pernicious influences, the narrow-minded intriguings which were rife at the Prince's headquarters. His own mental faculties, always dull, seemed now paralysed by disappointment. This placed him more than ever at the mercy of the worthless, incapable advisers who surrounded him. In the beaten army, during its retreat, there was naturally much soreness and complaining. Expressions of discontent no doubt fell from the senior officers. These were interpreted to the Prince as treasonable conspiracies, and he was persuaded to proceed

to the incredible extreme of depriving of their commands Don Sebastian and Zaratiegui. Their chiefs of the Staff were similarly treated: in short, nearly every brave and capable senior officer was at this juncture discarded. Some were imprisoned, others placed under surveillance, while a proclamation was issued denouncing them as traitors. Guergué, a second-rate General, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Teijeiro, an incompetent schemer, became head of the civil administration.

But at this the whole Basque people were roused to a threatening state of indignation. The rift, originating in the days of Zumalacarregui, between the Generals of Don Carlos and his petty Court, widened by the late failure before Madrid, was becoming a significant rupture. It was now that the opinion gained substantial ground that, if the special Basque privileges could be assured, hostilities might cease without further concern for Don Carlos. "Paz y Fueros"—"Peace and our Constitutional Rights"—became a distinct party cry. So much so that Munagorri, a lawyer, aided to some extent by the British Admiral, gathered around himself a following of his own, amounting to fifteen hundred men, pledged to fight for this compromise. Moreover, the number of Carlist adherents already killed or maimed, the desolation and distress to which these regions had been subjected for nearly five years, had no small weight on the peace side of the scales during 1838.

For several months of this year, however, while the Carlists were plainly losing ground in the Basque Provinces, they were gaining, eastwards, a formidable ascendancy, which presently centred in Morella. Before this they despatched some half-dozen expeditions. Two only need be glanced at. Garcia we saw marching off just at the close of 1837. His mission was to co-operate with Cabrera in another attempt to organise, into practicable fighting bodies, the guerrilla bands in the regions of which Cuenca or Teruel may be taken as the centre. A fruitless errand. They wanted no fresh incentives as to pillaging or devastating; but, though Cabrera in a way could manage them, with drill or discipline they would have nothing to do. Garcia, though several times defeated, marched through Andalucia and then northwards to Segovia before, with a mere remnant of his force, he returned to Cabrera's country. In March Negri led a force into the Asturias. But he showed no aptitude at all for the task: he could not even claim the success of effrontery and elusion which had attended most of the other attempts. He lost two thousand men by desertion, a like number were made

prisoners. After these incursions had given occupation to some of the Queen's Generals, Espartero on the 22nd of June captured Peñacerrada, a stronghold of no small importance, from its strategic position, between Vitoria and the Ebro. The victors obtained eleven guns and six hundred prisoners.

Soon after this all interest was drawn towards Morella. We saw how Cabrera separated himself, in a self-willed fashion, from Don Carlos during the retreat from Madrid. He returned to the region of his many former successes, where early in January, 1838, during a snowy night he captured by a bold dash Morella. This fortress, perched upon a rocky eminence, was no less valuable to him from its natural position than as a rallying-point in the midst of those guerrilla bands with whom his energy, his abilities, and perhaps also his ferocious character, maintained him in high favour. The influence of the priests over a superstitious people added to his power: fugitives from the Carlist expeditions which had proved failures swelled his ranks. In this way, by midsummer, he held an almost undisputed military position, extending from the eastern Pyrenees to Valencia.

Towards the end of July an imposing attempt was in progress towards ousting him from his stronghold. From all sides Christino troops were marched to the spot, until Oraa had in the vicinity of Morella some twenty thousand men under him. But woeful mismanagement attended the enterprise. A wanton, senseless destruction of the standing crops compelled Oraa to precipitate matters while still awaiting additional siege material. On the night of the actual assault, the 15th of August, the scaling-ladders were found to be too short. After great heroism had been displayed on both sides the attack was driven off with considerable loss, as was a second one two days later. Oraa had to retreat from the scene, menaced by numerous guerrilla bands. This success Cabrera followed up by a decisive victory on the 1st of October, at Maella, over Pardiñas, who was killed and whose force, of about four thousand five hundred men, lost more than half in prisoners alone. Cabrera now stood at about high water-mark of his repute, and it may also be said of his disrepute, for the war was at this period again disgraced here by some shocking butcheries of prisoners.

The Quadruple Alliance had by this time ceased almost altogether to exercise any influence on the course of the war. By March, 1838, the British Legion had fallen to four hundred of all ranks. That of France had fought against Don Carlos,

during the successful part of his expedition, about the Huesca period. Demoralisation had followed defeat; but, though the force was again made serviceable, political and other reasons led to its becoming little more than a frontier corps of observation. It was the fate of the Portuguese also to be associated with repulses, both at the hands of Zaratiegui and the siege of Morella. The disturbed state of their own country necessitated their withdrawal from Spain, where, however, they reappeared, as we shall have occasion to notice.

The loss of Peñacerrada brought about the supersession of Guergué. In his place Don Carlos appointed Maroto, whose tenure of office is shrouded in no small mystery; so much so that his extreme detractors accuse him of having desired the command of the Carlist army with the deliberately designed aim of acting a treacherous part. At all events, he found his Basque forces in a state bordering on dissolution. For some time the fortune of war had been favouring the enemy. In May several regiments had mutinied at Estella, where Don Carlos himself was. Desertion had been rife. The Prince's popularity was manifestly waning; he had to listen to the unseemly wranglings of his Generals and civil officials and to the abuse they so freely showered upon one another. Maroto, who had devoted himself to the Carlist cause since the days when he had witnessed the expulsion of the Princes from Portugal, now set to work assiduously to discipline his army, to reawaken enthusiasm. He was already popular with all ranks, he had the attributes which draw men towards a leader. He was determined that deserving officers only should hold commands, and soon felt his position strong enough for him to demand the replacement of Zaratiegui and other Generals. The results of his energy were soon apparent, aided fortunately by the news of the discomfiture of the Queen's forces at Morella. In September a victory was gained over Alaix in Navarre: minor successes followed. Partisans on the Continent untied their purse-strings. There was a reflux of desertion; though some authorities maintain that Espartero encouraged this: the men went pledged to seminate treason, and Maroto was in the plot.

Needless to say, there was soon an infuriated party scheming wildly for the overthrow of Maroto. Whatever may have been the feelings of the latter, at one time, in regard to Don Carlos and his cause, he now unmistakably declared war to the knife against the Prince's incompetent advisers, his priests, his pro-

phetic nun ; against, in short, the whole fulsome gang which, he knew only too well, had blasted the prospects of Carlism within and without the Peninsula. Nor was the Pretender without an active following who readily accepted the challenge ; so that, to the dissensions already distracting the petty Court, was added a fierce conflict between Apostolicals and Marotists. Now followed a deed which has a horror of its own in this war of atrocities. Certain officers high in command had plainly thrown in their lot with the Court party. In February, 1839, Maroto arrested four of these powerful adversaries: Generals Sanz, Carmona, Guergué, and Garcia—the latter not the already spoken of leader of two expeditions. On the 18th, at Estella, without any formal trial, Maroto had them shot, and in their backs as traitors. He followed up by bluntly informing Don Carlos that this was but a first instalment of what might be necessary. The Prince at once published an order denouncing Maroto as a traitor, and depriving him of his command. On this the latter marched boldly with a force towards Tolosa, where the Court was, and by his threatening attitude extorted a complete reversal of the condemning order of a few days before, which was declared to be founded on false or malicious representations. Maroto was not only reinstated in his command ; he obtained the dismissal from the scene of Teijeiro and some forty other Court favourites.

The winter of 1838–39 in the Basque Provinces had been severe. When with the spring military operations re-commenced, it was noticeable that the Carlist opposition was strangely weak ; in particular that in May, when Espartero and Maroto were confronting each other at Ramales, the latter General evacuated a most formidable position which he held there, without any attempt to make use of his available reserves. Many other places in the vicinity changed hands with similar readiness. At the end of the month a Carlist council of war decided that offensive operations were no longer feasible. Printed peace proposals circulated unhindered in the Carlist camps. The key to all this was that Espartero and Maroto were in communication with a view to ending the war. When these overtures commenced it is difficult to trace ; seemingly in January, 1839: at all events they were in full progress in June and July, with Lord John Hay a party to them by the end of the latter month. On August 24th the two chiefs were in near touch at Durango. By this time the military position of Don Carlos had, necessarily under the circumstances, gone

from bad to worse: his headquarters presented a most dismaying spectacle of upbraidings and confusion. On the 25th Espartero's demands were communicated to him, and he was thereupon prompted to put matters to the test by a sudden review of his troops at Elgueta. His eldest son and Maroto accompanied him. Of the regiments there drawn up, some indeed hailed him as of old. Others murmured the word "Peace." Some raised the cry, "Long live Maroto!" Hundreds of men remained ominously silent.

The next, the last military scene here in the north displays to us Espartero and Maroto embracing each other in the presence of their drawn-up soldiers, who showed themselves only too glad to follow suit. By the last day of August a Convention, that of Vergara, had been agreed upon. Its chief provisions were that Espartero undertook to do his utmost to advocate, though with possible modifications, the Basque Fueros; and that all ranks of the Carlist army, from Generals downwards, were at liberty either to enter the Queen's service, with existing grades and decorations assured to them, or to return to their homes. The surrender was general. Don Carlos himself a fortnight later quitted Spain for ever, accompanied across the French frontier by about nine thousand of his men: many of the others incorporated themselves in the army against which they had so recently been arrayed.

Politically this period—between the appearance of Don Carlos at Madrid in September, 1837, and his exit from the land two years later—is one of a recovery of power by the Moderates. New Cortes, which opened in November, 1837, found them enjoying a substantial majority, and they held office for about three-quarters of the total time under discussion. In December Count Ofalia was head of their newly installed Cabinet, in which Mon, now commencing a prominent political career, was Finance Minister. But the whole period was one rather of tendencies and ominous signs than of accomplished changes. As the prospects of Don Carlos began to sink, in a like measure the Regent and her partisans began to scheme to neutralise the work of the Progressists. Certain of the measures decreed against the clergy were not proceeded with; a very free executive hand was permitted to the Regent herself; a clamour was raised for the reimposition of tithes; a blow was aimed at the municipalities, in attempting to give to the Crown the appointment of the mayors. What was ominous was that the intentions of ministers, honest or the reverse, the oratory of

the Cortes, the schemings of Camarillas, were alike apt to be overshadowed by the Generals in the field. Calatrava's Ministry we saw ousted by a mild prætorian movement. Espartero continued to mount to a more and more preponderant position. He was the idol of the people, as well as of the army which he commanded. Though eminently a Royalist, he was a determined Constitutionist, and there was little doubt that any reactionary manœuvres would be met, on his part, by a military demonstration.

Hence the awe with which he was regarded by the Moderates. Hence they sought a counterpoise in Oraa and Narvaez. The first of these had to be discarded on account of his failure before Morella: this indeed led to the fall of the Ofalia Ministry. The duel between Espartero and Narvaez throws further light on the situation. The latter General, during the Gomez alarms, had shown a most unmilitary spirit in refusing to serve under the other, but had afterwards been placed in command of a Reserve Army. Owing to his being a reactionist, this force was favoured by the Queen's party at the expense of others which were serving at the seat of war. In March, 1838, Espartero issued an order to his troops strongly censuring the conduct of the Government for so neglecting them; he afterwards demanded and obtained the removal of Narvaez, who thereupon proceeded to Seville and attempted an insurrectionary movement against his rival. This failed, and Narvaez had to quit the country.

Yet it seems fairly clear that these were but the visible signs of a reactionary conspiracy, to which the Regent was privy. That is to say, the Government, with one civil war on its hands, was risking the chances of another, and was prepared to see discredited its best and most honest General, rather than forego some immediate selfish aims. We have here one of the most glaring of those cases where politicians become so blinded by their passionate ambitions, contentions, and rivalries that they seem lost to every sense of patriotism. In the successes of Espartero or others they saw but antagonists who might supplant them. As the renown of such a commander ascended, so frequently increased the desire to thwart him and see him brought low. Hence a General was often fighting the Carlists with one hand and a party or a clique with the other: however efficient he might be proving himself in the Basque Provinces, unless he saw to it that he had a political backing up in Madrid, he might awake any morning to find himself without a command.

A dissolution of the Cortes, in midsummer, 1839, forms a convenient point to turn from the intrigues at the capital to follow to an end the last phase of the war.

Cabrera's continuous ascendancy in the eastern provinces has been perhaps sufficiently outlined, as well as his own skill and activity as the chief of those guerrilla bands whose rivalries and outbreaks of insubordination would have driven any other commander to turn his back on them as hopeless. Morella we saw came into his hands, and the successes there inspired Carlism with higher aspirations than ever. He had long possessed Cantavieja, where were some arsenals, factories, and at times a considerable accumulation of stores. At the outset of these final operations he had for colleague the Count de España, who, however, in October, 1839, met with a fate at the hand of his own followers, in keeping with the many deeds of ferocious atrocity which he had himself committed. By this time the Queen's army in the northern provinces was free. Espartero was to be pitted against Cabrera. It was announced that bold, quick moves would not be resorted to: a methodical campaign was to be entered upon: a pacification by occupation. This was to some extent a necessity, for the question of transport of war material was a serious one, and the scene of the coming operations lay in a barren, mountainous country still further exhausted by the ravagings of guerrilla bands.

During the winter, then, of 1839–40 little progress was made: the weather was excessively severe, even in May the men were fighting amidst snow-storms. A large number of the now available troops were, however, being gradually moved eastwards. The National Militia, which, under many temptations and coercions, had on the whole been faithfully loyal, was for the first time efficiently clothed and equipped. In the early spring of 1840 a number of small strongholds in southern Aragon were wrested from the Carlists, who in May found themselves menaced in Cantavieja. The Queen's troops entered it on the 11th, abandoned and in flames. Beyond doubt the whole campaign would have been very much more stubbornly conducted by Cabrera, had he not been prostrated by sickness during the winter. When Espartero, on May 23rd, opened fire on Morella, his redoubtable antagonist was by no means his former self in daring and activity. He lay in command of a force outside the stronghold, which, it was soon seen, would not offer the protracted or even the heroic defence that was anticipated. Dissensions broke out among the besieged: an act of

treachery gave information of a sortie of escape which was attempted on the night of the 29th. Soon after the issue of the column, with an accompaniment of would-be fugitive women and children, it found itself in the darkness between the fire of both foes and friends. Appalling scenes and a terrible loss of life ensued. The garrison, exceeding three thousand men, surrendered on the following day.

This practically was the end of the war. Cabrera crossed the Ebro and continued his retreat northwards, while a portion of the defeated army made for the Basque Provinces, and there attempted, but altogether ineffectually, to rekindle the strife. A last stand of the main Carlist forces was attempted at Berga, where Espartero had under him such superior numbers that he readily broke up the opposition of an enemy dispirited by failure and weakened by treachery and desertions. By the middle of July Cabrera, together with some ten thousand of his followers, was on the French side of the Pyrenees. So ended the First Carlist War.

CHAPTER IX

DONNA MARIA II. DA GLORIA

THE collapse of Dom Miguel's aims and public career at Evora Monte, in May, 1834, was followed shortly by the establishment of Constitutional government in Portugal. The period of transition was necessarily one of great confusion and turmoil. In the passing of the capital to Dom Pedro, in July, 1833, many terrible scenes were witnessed. The doors of the prisons were opened, and political offenders and convicts alike, to the number of five thousand, were at liberty to revenge themselves, to murder and pillage. Palmella and Terceira had issued proclamations announcing pardon and oblivion ; but the grandees and clericals, nearly all supporters of the Usurper, with their rich establishments, formed too tempting objects of attack. Vengeance was the spirit uppermost with the party now in power, from the Council of State downwards. Dom Pedro himself had also heralded a coming era of peace ; yet something of the disposition that animated him, at this juncture, may be gleaned from the fact that one of his first acts, after landing, was to inscribe on his father's tomb "One of thy sons slew thee, another will avenge thee." With him, however, bitterness was in the main directed against ecclesiastics and their establishments. In many cases there were sound reasons for this feeling. Secular priests, monks, nuns, and convents were out of all proportion to the needs of the population. Many of these had a considerable command of wealth, and though much of it might be bestowed upon deserving objects of charity, the ministers were as a rule bigoted, unenlightened, and obstructive ; averse to innovations in agriculture, science, or literature. The religious houses fostered ignorance, superstition, and prejudice ; in many of them beyond doubt gross immoralities were committed ; from all of them Dom Miguel had derived great assistance, material as well as in propagandism. Dom

Pedro then in May, 1834, decreed their abolition; but not before many of them had been sacked and defiled by mobs, and several priests had been stabbed in the streets. The Jesuits were expelled: with them went the Papal Nuncio, and then all relations with Rome were broken off.

As to Dom Pedro's personal following, the sharers of his adverse days, and those who afterwards flocked around him during the operations against his brother: here, at all events amongst the majority of them, there was little enough hesitation in grasping at the loaves and the fishes. To hold a high command now that success was declaring in their favour necessarily had great attractions. If such a prize could fall to but a few, there was a splendid booty in the shape of the confiscated properties of Dom Miguel's adherents, in the numerous State and Court appointments to be filled up. All these the royal circle fell upon with the rapacity of wolves, at a period when a very disorderly rabble was infesting Lisbon and its suburbs, when in many parts of the country the semi-dispersed troops of the Usurper seemed likely to convert themselves into most formidable guerrilla bands, and when those amongst the lower orders who had suffered during the late rule were clamouring vindictively for reprisals. The ill effects of such a procedure, such a forgetfulness of the first interests of the country, namely, reconciliation and the establishment of order and good government, were soon apparent. Instead of a feeling of security, there commenced a fresh reign of terror throughout the land. The loyalist feeling, which was ready to greet Dom Pedro as the saviour of Portugal, evaporated at this display of hostility and greed on the part of the victors.

In August, 1834, the Cortes, elected in accordance with the Charter of 1826, were opened by Dom Pedro in person. The Upper House presented a strange spectacle: so many of the Peers had directly or indirectly compromised themselves under the late rule, that sixteen only put in an appearance, and seven of these at once grouped themselves into an opposition. The Lower House assembled in one of the lately sacked convents, where Manuel Passos, who led a noisy miscellaneous opposition, had no lack of supporters in branding the Charter as a failure; as shown in the suspension of its guarantees, in the pressure exercised at the elections, in the constraints upon publishing, and a neglect to establish the promised municipal councils. He inveighed against Dom Miguel's pension, and was at little pains to conceal his antipathy to Dom Pedro, whose rule he indeed

summed up as a dictatorship. The latter Prince had, by one of the first acts of the Cortes, been confirmed in his position as Regent. Shortly after he fell ill, and his condition became so critical that he sent a message to the Cortes, stating that the last sacrament had been administered to him, and that he was no longer competent to perform his duties. On this the Cortes declared Donna Maria, who was now only in her sixteenth year, to be of age: that is, to be legally competent to enter upon her reign, which by the Charter could not commence until she had attained eighteen. On September 20th she duly took the prescribed oaths in the presence of the Cortes. Four days later Dom Pedro died.

We have seen how, following the Peninsular War, two Constitutions had been somewhat thrust upon Portugal: one that of 1822, of a distinctly democratical character; the other Pedro's Charter of 1826, a much smoothed down edition of its predecessor. How the Charter was thrown overboard, in September, 1836, by a revolution which brought in the 1822 Code: how a palace plot, two months later, attempted but failed to reverse the new political situation: how in 1837 the military outbreak, known as the Revolt of the Marshals, also failed in a like endeavour: how the Constitution was remodelled in 1838; and how finally in 1842 another military rising reintroduced permanently the Charter—these form the battle centres, in the campaign of Liberalism against Conservatism, during Donna Maria's reign.

There are first, then, to be run through two years of comparative quietude, during which Palmella, Saldanha, and Terceira, as well as other less-known statesmen, held the post of Prime Minister. But their Cabinets represented reconstructions rather than changes of polity. For instance, Carvalho was Finance Minister nearly throughout; Villa Real was in office during much of the time; and Palmella, after having himself been Premier, was at the Foreign Office under Saldanha. Obviously the most urgent necessity was a period of tranquillity; for the wars had crippled agriculture, Dom Pedro's free-trade innovations had dislocated commerce, while the Budget, now and for many years to come, presented an appalling deficit. A loan was, however, facilitated, from the fact that Great Britain, France, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, and Denmark had recognised the claims of the young Queen as lawful. Though the wilder passions let loose during the campaign, the assassinations, the highway robberies were ceasing, the closing of the con-

vents, together with the discharge of a great number of soldiers, gave an undesirable addition to ranks of the restless and the unemployed. The Charter, admirable in its intent, constituted little short of a leap from a mediæval monarchy to a nineteenth-century republic. Privileges and hereditary rights were too deeply rooted in the soil to be suddenly torn up : the attempt necessarily raised a host of malcontents. Court, army, the police and many minor officials were all interested in the retention of various existing abuses. The nobles and clergy were smarting under a sense of injury : both, passively at all events, favoured the plottings of the Miguelites, who seemed only to want a leader in order again to take the field in force. The success of Don Carlos in Spain naturally kept alert these factions, and raised their hopes.

By the time Palmella's Cabinet, one of fusion, was well in office, public opinion and the Cortes alike, supported too by the British Minister, had raised their voices against the Miguelite confiscations ; so they ceased. A task next undertaken was an important one : the sale of national and Crown properties. These consisted chiefly of royal residences, landed estates, and the valuable belongings of the disestablished religious houses. They were, indeed, sold by public aution ; but money being scarce bidders were consequently few. To certain individuals, however, whom the Government wished to favour, and so strengthen their own political position, certificates were given representing, at iniquitously high figures, all sorts of claims, such as arrears of salaries, damages through Dom Miguel's usurpation, and loses during the war against him. Some of the charges went back to the Azores days. Provided then with their paper equivalents of money, the lucky recipients were permitted to purchase from the State the properties now in the market. This procedure justly raised a storm of indignation within and without the Cortes.

The Queen we have seen hurried when quite a child to the throne. Her father in his last moments had advised her to open the prisons, forget past offences, and adhere steadfastly to the Charter. Early in 1835 she was married to Prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg ; an event followed by a fierce wrangle concerning his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, which was railed against as an illegal act. His untimely death, on March 28th, raised an outcry very much more senseless against Palmella, who was accused of having poisoned the Prince in order that the Queen might become his daughter-in-

law. With no less extravagance of passion he had been denounced as having subsidised the Miguelites, and as being in league with Wellington to overthrow Constitutional government in Portugal. There were even cries for "the head of the traitor." In May he resigned ; and the next matter which agitated the administration was the question of sending a force to Spain in fulfilment of the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. It was argued, soundly enough, that perhaps these regiments had better be retained for the preservation of order at home ; and that those officers and men who had fought for Dom Miguel would possibly, when on the other side of the frontier, have their sympathies drawn toward Don Carlos. In reality the Government was loth to part with votes on which it could count, and in some of the barracks the question was taken up in a very outspoken fashion. It was decided finally that the force should be despatched.

In 1836 the Queen, left a widow at sixteen, was married to Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a nephew of the King of the Belgians. Though in the sequel this proved an excellent choice, there was again a violent dispute as to whether the Queen's husband should hold the position of Commander-in-Chief. The matter was complicated by the arrangement having been entered upon before the Prince's arrival : it was embittered by the Queen effecting the appointment by decree ; and had its comic side in the discovery, after awhile, that there was no need at all to have a Commander-in-Chief. Still, while the outcries of a Radical Press and the clubs, that the country was being subjected to a degrading despotism, and governed by Belgians and English, might be taken at their true value, honest upholders of the Charter could not be indifferent as to who would be at the head of the army, should a reactionary administration establish an ascendancy. It was plain that in the event of a resort to arms, political Generals as Saldanha and Terceira would hold prominent commands, and over forces where every regiment had its political club, and where, even down to company officers, changes of Ministries might mean either promotion or relegation to the unemployed list.

It was scarcely to be avoided that a Camarilla should gather around a Queen under seventeen, married to a husband under twenty ; moreover, with the Prince-Consort had arrived some of his countrymen, in order that the Court might profit by their advice. Such influences as were exercised were maliciously misrepresented in the Press : a credulous populace believed

what it read; and this, together with some furious debates in the Cortes, helped, by the midsummer of 1836, to stir up the country into a dangerously angry mood. There are also the iniquitous sales of national property, certain undoubted bureaucratic tendencies, the lurking hatreds of clericals and Miguelites, and, lastly, the La Granja affair in Spain to be kept in mind, as we approach the September Revolution of this year.

A General Election took place in July, not without the usual accompaniment of Governmental manipulation, from which resulted the desired successes. Oporto, however, had elected Radical members, and vast crowds flocked to give them a welcome on their arrival at Lisbon by sea, on the 9th of September. Soon there arose ominous shouts of "Down with the Charter!" mingled with much more revolutionary outbursts, directed against ministers and the Court. The Constitution of 1822, raised as a battle-cry, always possessed a ready charm for a street mob. It was regarded as their own special offspring: the Charter of 1826 was the gift of a king. Nor was Brazil by any means forgotten as yet. On this occasion the National Guard added largely to the fermenting disorders. Concerning the condition and feelings of this body of men, a writer records that usually, on the drums beating the assembly, half of them ran into the streets ready to shoot any one they came across, with a preference for officials; the other half thought it better to watch the course of events from their shop windows. Now they threw in their lot in large numbers with the revolutionaries, while the regular troops, when ordered to act against them, refused point-blank. The Executive thus found itself completely paralysed. On the following morning a mob deputation proceeded to the palace, and demanded the restoration of the Constitution of 1822, though the principle of modifications in it was referred to. This they obtained: the Queen swore to observe it: Terceira's Ministry fell. The whole was over in three days. From the month in which this revolution took place the Radical party in Portugal obtained the name of Septembrists, in contradistinction to their opponents the Chartists.

Upon the Court this storm fell altogether unexpectedly. The same may be said of the nation generally, even of the revolutionaries themselves. No line of action had been prearranged. A flood of seething passions burst in a chance direction, that of the Constitution of 1822. During the alarm and confusion of

the outbreak the Queen showed a brave spirit, and firmly rejected the suggestions of the British and Belgian ministers as to the advisability of a retirement to a man-of-war. In the midst of the turmoil Sá-da-Bandeira, who had borne a share in all the contests of late years against despotism, was thought of as a possible pacificator. He was an honest democrat, and believed that a solution of Portugal's Constitutional troubles was to be looked for in a fusion of the two Codes under contention. He became a member of the new Cabinet which was presided over by Lumiares, and in which also had a seat Passos, one of the Oporto Deputies, a man possessed of great oratorical powers, and essentially a man of the people.

The new Ministry, of which Passos was in reality the guiding spirit, after an enthusiastic welcome from the populace, brought forward a number of salutary measures, including, it may be mentioned, the abolition of bullfights. A general reduction of salaries was ordained, and a suppression of various sinecures. But the latter necessarily added to the indignant umbrage, amongst the higher classes, caused by humiliating the position of the Sovereign and suppressing the Upper House. So much so that, almost at once, a counter-revolution was set on foot. It was a most ill-advised affair, with its centre at the palace. For the people were chafing under the feeling that their liberties were being threatened, just as much by foreign Powers as by their own Sovereigns : and as Van de Weyer, who accompanied Ferdinand to Portugal as mentor, was largely responsible for what now followed, the people had not altogether misjudged the situation. Great Britain and France, moreover, had brought to the spot some additional warships, an act which was regarded as a further menace. Another tactless procedure was a farewell order, issued by Ferdinand to the army on relinquishing its command. All this was the more unfortunate as it seems that an influential section of the public, and even the ministers themselves, alarmed at the extremist outbursts of the Press and the clubs, were already coming round to the opinion that the September Revolution had been a political blunder.

The Court, in its hurried eagerness, no doubt over-estimated certain signs of the times. The Peers had at once raised a loud protest against the re-introduced Code ; a number of the clergy were refusing positively to swear to it ; here and there a regiment was to be heard raising a cry for "Queen and Charter!" Some Generals, and those the most capable, were known to be at the disposal of the palace party. It was decided then to act.

The Court transferred itself on the 3rd of November to Belem, a royal residence some four miles down the river below Lisbon. Thither repaired several Peers and other high personages. A portion of the garrison, only a small force, was also marched there; though this appears to have been done under the unauthorised direction of certain over-zealous officers, and it became doubtful twenty-four hours later whether these men were to be relied upon, at all events as to engaging in conflict against the National Guards. Hopes were entertained that one or more of the ministers might be drawn into the enterprise; but Passos, aware of what was in contemplation, as was, in fact, by this time the whole of Lisbon, spoke out plainly to the effect that if foreign sailors were landed there would probably be bloodshed, and that the Queen's going on board a man-of-war might possibly be accepted by the people as her abdication. At the same time he made arrangements for the National Guard to turn out and take action if necessary. In this he was seconded by the townspeople, who threw up barricades and isolated the troops at Belem.

Here, at the palace, the first procedure was to nominate a new Cabinet, and to proclaim the Charter as restored. But with this the venture came to a standstill; and partly through the dismay caused by a tragic event. Early on the morning of the 4th, Freire, a former minister of Dom Pedro, was assassinated by some National Guards when on his way to join the Court, of which he was known to be a warm partisan. These troops were drawn up in imposing force upon the historic Campo-de-Ourique, facing Belem at a distance of about two miles. A conflict seemed inevitable, when Passos was summoned to the palace. He bluntly told the assembled courtly circle that his Ministry was a Septembrist, not a Chartist one; and that his special mandate had been to oppose the reactionary tendencies of the Queen's advisers. He added, however, that the most objectionable portions of the present Code admitted of a change, namely, as to the restoration of an Upper Chamber, the veto, and the power of dissolution. In no less plain words he spoke out to the British ambassador regarding the counsels of foreigners and interference from abroad. Finally, he invited her Majesty, if she wished to prove the love in which she was held by her subjects, to go herself to the Campo-de-Ourique. There also was the proper place for her Generals, and at the head of the troops drawn up in defence of the country's Constitutional rights. An anxious night followed.

Some seven hundred British Marines were disembarked. The National Guards advanced nearer still to Belem, and appeared fully determined to press onwards. The leaders, however, on either side, Passos, Sá-da-Bandeira, and Saldanha, exerting themselves in a praiseworthy fashion for a pacification, brought it about; and what might have been a very bloodthirsty conflict transformed itself into a humiliating fiasco, ending by the Queen returning to the Necessidades Palace, through streets crowded with jubilant National Guards.

There were no reprisals, and the only matter of note during the remainder of the year was the announcement that slavery would be abolished throughout the Portuguese colonies. At the opening of 1837 Sá-da-Bandeira had been advanced to the head of the Cabinet, with Passos and Castro as its only other members. The Cortes met pledged to a blending of Chartist and Septembrist principles; but the Government had to be carried on in the face of great perplexities. Some Miguelite bands assumed a formidable aspect, the finances seemed hopelessly embarrassed, and a loan was raised with much difficulty. Another very serious matter was that nearly all the leading Chartists withdrew themselves from the service of the State. They were stirred by an intense hatred towards the party which had triumphed over them, and were bent, by fair means or foul, upon regaining their lost ascendancy. In short, they were seen to be pursuing some of the very courses which had helped to bring about the last two disturbances, and are accused of having instigated the National Guards to acts of disorder, in order to discredit them and so obtain their disbandment. The immediate aim was to render any form of government impossible. Nor had the Court and its counsellors learnt much by recent events. The Queen herself appears to have desired to govern strictly Constitutionally; but she was necessarily much influenced by her husband; and though his judgment was usually sound, he could but regard the extremist principles of some of the Septembrists with no small aversion. To both of them had been made very clear the dangers attending subversive attempts such as the last. But the palace was more than ever, at this period, a hotbed of all manner of intrigues and attempts to influence the royal couple. As the difficulties of ministers increased, the Camarilla of course grew bolder.

By May the new Constitution had been agreed upon in outline, as foreshadowed by Passos: that is, the Code of 1822,

with a double Chamber and the rights of veto and dissolution grafted upon it. Before the end of the month this small Ministry, finding even its own party thwarting legislature, resigned. Thus two loyal-hearted, devoted statesmen were lost to the country, at a moment when the foundations of a sound Constitution, the offspring of conciliation and concession, were being laid. Neither side, however, was in a mood for compromises or adjustments. The Chartists have been spoken of; the Septembrists, including most of the National Guard, showed themselves no less ready to renew the strife at this undoing of what they regarded with pride as their own special workmanship—the throwing aside of the Charter and the humiliating of the Court.

While these influences were active, the Revolt of the Marshals —Saldanha and Terceira—broke out. We have seen how the former had commenced his political career, as a bluff, ready asserter of the people's rights. He had afterwards, in 1835, been Premier for some time—a position which had, no doubt, brought forcibly home to him that it was one thing to place himself at the head of a popular movement, another to find himself pilot during a stormy passage from an old to a new world of administration. If it would be wrong to describe him at this juncture as a courtier, all the same the sunshine of the palace was becoming an ever increasing attraction to him. The signal for this appeal to force was given at Barca, on July 12, 1837, by Leiria, who had drawn into the enterprise the garrison of that town. Towards the end of the month Saldanha was taking an active part in it, by marching through the central portions of the kingdom and inviting regiments to join him. The Queen, he maintained in his proclamations, must be freed from the subjection of her ministers. The salvation of Portugal could be effected only by a restoration of the Charter. By this time the Court and ministers alike were in the greatest perplexity, and symptoms of a regular panic appeared, when it was reported to them that Terceira had gone off to join the mutinous troops, taking with him forty horses from the royal stables. For this gave colour to the suspicions, now everywhere in circulation, that the Queen and her Consort, the latter especially, were countenancing the outbreak. Both the Cortes and the populace began to be moved by feelings much stronger than mere resentment.

However, a state of siege had been declared, and the country divided into two main military districts. Of these the northern

had been entrusted to Sá-da-Bandeira, the southern to Bomfim; yet by the middle of August Saldanha found little difficulty in threatening the capital by a march southwards from Coimbra. Soon Bomfim, finding that the districts south of the Tagus remained quiet, passed to the north bank; but his adversary cleverly eluded him, was joined by Terceira, and on August 23rd was actually at the gates of Lisbon. Within there was no wavering. The troops continued loyal; some sailors were brought ashore, the National Guards, twelve thousand strong, remained under arms night and day. Others of the inhabitants threw up barricades, or demonstrated their enthusiasm by parading the streets with blunderbusses, or even with pikes in their hands. Faced by this hostile display, Saldanha turned his back on the city and headed northwards. He seems to have received no small promises of support, probably from some of the palace party, though perhaps unauthorised. At all events, he confidently appointed a Regency, consisting of himself, Terceira, and Mousinho. Now in retreat his force was pursued by one under Bomfim, which encountered him on August 28th at Chão-da-feira, where a singular spectacle was witnessed. After an engagement of infantry had made some progress, the cavalry on either side were brought forward for a charge. The squadrons approached; but instead of coming into contact they suddenly halted. Lances were pointed upwards, swords returned. One side shouted *vivas* for the Charter, the other for the Constitution. What followed was not an actual fraternisation, but plainly an agreement that there should be no further bloodshed.

The Generals held a conference, but failed to come to terms upon the main question, the Constitutional one. Saldanha and Terceira then continued their movement to the north, where Leiria was still in the field, and with some accession of strength. At this juncture the Portuguese army corps, which had been taking a part in the Carlist War under Das Antas, was returning. When in the vicinity of Moncalvo a brigade of it declared for the Charter and marched off. The situation now was that Leiria dominated Minho, the Marshals Traz os Montes: that is, the Chartists were in possession of the country north of the Douro. Operating from Oporto, Das Antas and Sá-da-Bandeira commenced successfully driving Leiria eastwards, while Saldanha was pushing westward to his aid. He was informed of this, and could easily have delayed committing himself to an action. Instead he allowed himself to be drawn

into one at Ruivães, where he was defeated and compelled to retreat to Chaves. Here the Marshals, recognising that their position had become untenable, consented to an amicable surrender. Under the Convention there signed, on September 20th, Saldanha and Terceira were compelled to quit the country, while their following of regular troops returned to allegiance to the Government.

During the progress of this small civil war, which Saldanha had stirred up without any excuse at all reasonable, Sá-da-Bandeira became Prime Minister. The remainder of the year was taken up with discussing and formulating the new Constitution, which was sworn to in April of the following year, 1838. As was to be expected between such extremists, reactionary on the one hand, Radical with the support of quasi-Socialistic clubs on the other, the debates waxed warm. The manner in which the Senate was to be chosen, by the Sovereign or by the people, naturally gave rise to some fierce discussions, before the latter method was carried by vote. This had been preceded by the birth of an heir-apparent, afterwards Pedro V., an event which caused a noticeable rallying round the Throne. The Court rose in popularity, heightened by an amnesty which enabled even the rebellious Marshals to return from exile.

Nevertheless, side by side with these hopeful signs, the revolutionary spirit of the capital was showing that it had by no means been laid to rest. Disturbances broke out in March, 1838, directed against the Cabinet, which Sá-da-Bandeira had hoped might work satisfactorily if composed of both Chartist and Septembrist elements. Bomfim had been introduced, but the Radicals chose to consider him as standing for the reassertion of reactionary measures. Lisbon had for the moment a Septembrist Civil Governor in Caldeira; the arsenal volunteers and their commander, França, were extremists of the same type; indeed, the whole riverside operatives were advanced Septembrists. Advantage was taken of the monthly muster of the National Guards, on March 4th, to make a demonstration and demand from the Queen the reconstruction of the Cabinet. Caldeira's dismissal increased the fermentation, and by the 9th a force of insurgents was holding the arsenal and vociferating for a "pure" Ministry. They had guns and other war material in their hands, but held a weak position in reference to the men-of-war in the river. After some lives had been lost, Sá-da-Bandeira, prompted by a desire to avoid further bloodshed, offered the insurgents a full pardon on surrender.

A compromise was effected. França and his battalion were not disbanded, as at first ordered. Bomfim was withdrawn. though in the sequel only temporarily, from the Cabinet. Caldeira was not reinstated in office, and in this manner a very threatening tumult subsided. Suicidal as such a way of temporising with revolutionaries must usually be, in this instance it was followed by a strengthening of the party of order. As in the case of the Revolt of the Marshals, the bulk of the people held aloof and showed an indifference to what was passing. Such attempts were seen through, as arising chiefly from the ambitious aims of individual schemers for power. Several regiments gave open expression to their disapproval. The fictions that the Queen was a State prisoner and that the real Sovereigns of Portugal were the King of the Belgians and Palmerston had been repeated a few times too often. At all events, the Septembrists, from the very dangerous and disorderly following they had enlisted, distinctly lost ground from this last venture. The Cortes manifested a strong determination to support the royal authority.

Moreover, about this period Court and Chartists received a valuable addition to their strength in Costa Cabral, afterwards Count of Thomar, who shortly was playing as large a part in public affairs as a man well could in so small a kingdom. Educated for the law, occasionally in the field against absolutist principles, an exile to many lands, he now turned away, seemingly an honest convert, from Septembrism and its revolutionary methods. The change was no trivial one; for at one time his speeches in the clubs had been of the most vehement "mountain" type. He had frequently called upon his audience to second him in his demand that the Queen should be brought to trial. Now, as Caldeira's successor, and with his hand strengthened by some tumultuous movements which took place in June, 1838, and which the National Guard did nothing to quiet, he was instrumental in effecting a disbandment of the most disorderly sections of that force. Before the end of the year the nation was made further happy by the birth of a second Prince, Louis, who in due course reigned over Portugal for twenty-eight years. Remechido, too, the notorious Miguelist guerrilla chief, was taken and shot. Finally, amicable relations with the Holy See were in course of restoration, and Pius IX. was pleased to become godfather to the royal infant.

Scarcely had this less troubled period been hopefully entered upon, in regard to internal affairs, when Portugal became

seriously embroiled, successively, with Great Britain and Spain. As to the former Power, the charge was that Portugal had received £600,000, on condition that she performed certain specific acts in connection with the abolition of the slave trade, whereas absolutely nothing had been effected. Large sums were also outstanding, on account of the expenses incurred by maintaining Clinton's division. There were arrears, too, of pay due to the Duke of Wellington and to Marshal Beresford. Portugal's difficulty simply was that she had not the wherewithal to meet the demands made upon her. She had engaged to return to cash payments in 1838, with an amount of paper money in circulation which rendered this now impracticable. Her current Budget acknowledged a deficit of a million and a half sterling. But what made matters worse was that she continued to treat her powerful ally in a most cavalier fashion. Despatches relating to the above matters had remained unanswered for a twelvemonth.

Sá-da-Bandeira's Cabinet found an escape from these embarrassments by resignation in March, 1839. His successor, Sabrosa, was scarcely likely to improve the position, for he had been a bitter traducer of the Queen's father, and was objectionable generally to the English party in the capital. It was owing perhaps to this that Palmerston, who probably never meant more than a little quiet browbeating of Septembrism, was spurred on to a more forcible appearance of action. A British man-of-war was sent to Lisbon, and the Government there informed that if, by May, 1840, the demands of Great Britain had not received satisfaction, Goa and Macao would be seized. Further, that if this led to any injury to British subjects or interests, a descent would be made upon Madeira. Meantime Sabrosa also had retired; but under Bomfim, who followed, an envoy to London was hit upon in Saldanha, who settled matters by a promise of payments by instalments. To the ministers this brought no quiet or oblivion. They were assailed by the Septembrists—always very bitter against Great Britain—as grovelling down before that country, as Palmerston's hirelings. A General Election, early in 1840, gave a considerable majority to the Chartists.

The dispute with Spain arose in regard to the navigation of the Douro, a river which we see, after traversing half Spain, continues a lengthy winding course across the smaller kingdom. In 1835, at a period when under the Charter it was not necessary to submit the matter to the Cortes, a treaty had been

concluded by which Spain obtained certain transit privileges, which it held to be of the highest importance. At the time the transaction had not attracted much attention in Portugal, but by 1840, made use of as a political firebrand, it was greatly inflaming the people, who were led to regard it as grievously prejudicial to their trade in wine and grain. Cabinet after Cabinet attempted to elude giving effect to the treaty; indeed, to shelve the whole undertaking; while the Madrid Government grew more and more insistent, especially when the Carlist War, drawing to a close, gave them a much more free hand and a trained army with which to support their demands. Besides, there was the credit to be gained by a show of successful diplomacy and of power to enforce engagements.

Procrastination, nevertheless, continued to be the line of policy adopted at Lisbon, where it was hoped that some new phase of unsettlement, in the sister kingdom, would cause the dispute to lose prominence. But this did not happen. Madrid heightened its domineering tone, at the same time that the Portuguese people were more than ever convinced that their trading interests would suffer by the treaty. No Ministry dare advocate it, though one ingeniously came to the conclusion that a happy exit from the imbroglio might be found in giving way during the interval between a Dissolution and new Cortes. A Spanish minister next stated openly in debate that coercion was now to follow. A despatch was penned intimating, and truthfully enough, that Portuguese diplomacy was pursuing a course of palpable deception. On December 10, 1840, an ultimatum gave Portugal twenty-five days in which to submit. If not, fifty thousand men were to be marched upon Badajoz. Again Saldanha was chosen as a special envoy. He proceeded to Madrid, and, though he had to accede to the just demands of Spain, the negotiations were brought to a close with a minimum of offensiveness to Portuguese pride. It is to be noted that Spain made no use of the concessions she had obtained.

During, then, this period of threatened hostilities—yet as it befell of increasing internal tranquillity: that is to say, during roundly the years 1839-40-41—the Septembrists continued to no small extent to lose power. Their leaders—if the best of them were honest, well-meaning patriots—had perforce to lean for support on an ill-conditioned National Guard, on the most ignorant section of the populace, and a malignant Press. They were divided, too, amongst themselves, and were feared by the

trading community. Everywhere there was an increasing inclination to accept as an accomplished fact the new Constitution, which indeed, at least in theory, gave the sovereignty to the people. The Courts of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin had recognised the Queen, who, together with her ministers, gained a considerable access of popularity, to which had also contributed the complete restoration of amicable relations with Rome. Upon Ferdinand, it may be mentioned, the title of King was conferred after the birth of an heir to the throne. Saldanha, an important personage to reckon with, had quite cut himself adrift from his old associates of the Left. Terceira was devoted to the Court. Lastly, the Douro affair had drawn all communities together. For though, in the Chamber, each party had accused the other of wishing to sell the country to the enemy, and though there were certain politicians of standing undoubtedly acting in collusion with others in a similar position in Spain, the nation showed itself ready to second the Cortes in warlike measures. Volunteers at once came forward for the regular army, and the National Guards no less quickly let it be seen that they could be counted upon to submit to the restraints of discipline. There was a general outburst of patriotic enthusiasm.

Bomfim was chief minister during the greater part of the period just spoken of. Aguiar succeeded him in June, 1841, but with a Cabinet only partially altered. We now enter upon 1842—a year which witnessed another, though bloodless, revolution in Portugal, foreshadowed by the Chartist electoral victory of 1840, and facilitated by the consequent introduction of Chartist officials. No more significant proof of the changed opinion of the country could be afforded than in the result of the municipal elections, held during the first days of 1842 at Oporto—the scene on so many occasions of ebullitions of advanced Liberalism. Here the Chartists triumphantly headed the polls, and thither repaired Costa Cabral, a member now of the Cabinet for more than two years. Ostensibly he went upon private affairs; but concerning this point, and the whole working up of the Constitutional change we are coming to, the most conflicting statements are to be met with. He had for some time been gathering to himself a considerable following, personal perhaps rather than political. The Queen, attracted possibly by his strong will and force of character, gave him no small amount of her confidence; he was, in fact, regarded as a most valuable adjunct by the palace party, who continued

to chafe under the existing Constitution, as too strongly tinctured throughout with the elective principle; as too reminiscent, in short, of Septembrism. According, then, to the usually accepted version of the affair, Costa Cabral went to Oporto at the instigation, or with the connivance of the Court, and charged with a distinct mission—to restore the Charter.

However this may be, he certainly, when he arrived there, on the 19th of January, found himself in the midst of enthusiastic demonstrations in favour of the change. He himself received a great ovation: a week later a Junta had been formed and the Charter proclaimed. The civil authorities, the clergy, and the troops threw in their lot with the movement, and, whatever may have been Costa Cabral's previous share in the undertaking, he now placed himself at the head of it, and lent to it his own position and political dexterity. On the 5th of February he accompanied a force, six thousand strong, which quitted the city intent on a march to the capital. Troops and people alike regarded him as having a mandate from the Queen, and accepted the idea that she must be saved from the compulsion under which she had been acting. Minho, Traz os Montes, and both Beiras seconded the rising. At Lisbon there was, at all events at the outset, no such unanimity. Some ministers seem to have known all along what was in contemplation. Rodrigo, however, the most active of them, wished, if only from personal grounds —that is, his rivalry to Costa Cabral—to suffocate the outbreak, while the palace party was agitated by nervous fears lest it should receive a check. A first outcome was a decision to denounce Costa Cabral: he was declared ejected from the Cabinet; at the same time a pardon was promised to all those who had taken up arms if they would at once submit. Terceira, with the Lisbon garrison, was moved to a position where he could oppose the revolting forces on their approach; but his own regiments were already exclaiming that they meant to welcome their Oporto brethren with open arms.

At this juncture the ministers resigned; and on the 7th of February Palmella accepted office with a coalition Cabinet of Septembrist tendencies. A great show of energetic action was made. The Oporto revolutionaries, it was declared, would be opposed might and main. The National Guards, past and present, were to be called out, and would defend the Constitution to their last man and their last cartridge. Terceira, the traitor, must be shot. Much of this was mere bombast; though some barricades were erected in the streets, and some muskets and

ammunition distributed. What was far more important, and decisive, was that Lisbon was really of the same way of thinking as Oporto. There was a desire, if not general, at all events on the part of a majority, including the rich and enlightened members of the community, to see the Charter restored. Moreover, Costa Cabral's numerous following had been assiduously working for him. An influential deputation waited on the Queen and stated that the people wished this restoration; on the 8th a salvo from the Castle of St. George announced it as an accomplished fact; a decree of the Queen on the 10th proclaimed it, and added that such was the will of the people. Palmella's Cabinet, after a three days' existence, was succeeded by one under Terceira; and this little bloodless revolution was followed in true Peninsular fashion by nearly a week of fêtes, fireworks, illuminations, and general holiday.

During the years 1843–4–5 the history of Portugal resolves itself into the personal government of a powerful, imperious minister, Costa Cabral. We have seen how he accompanied a military force from Oporto: this he did in a civil capacity; for though he had been occasionally in the field, he was not a soldier by profession. Had the capital continued to waver, undoubtedly he would soon have been at its gates. As it was, his mission came to an end when the advancing troops were staying their progress at Coimbra. Leaving them there, he appeared in Lisbon, and received an ostentatious public welcome. On February 24, 1842, he became a member of the Cabinet, and was soon its real if not its nominal head. Naturally the Septembrists were up against him in arms at once. Here was the man, whom they had at one time rejoiced in as their Danton or their Robespierre, now seen to be the right hand of the Queen. Many who for various reasons had quitted the Chartist ranks joined this opposition, as did others who were unwilling to recognise Costa Cabral as a fit and proper leader of the party. The latter saved appearances by calling themselves Progressists; nor did some of these hostile leaders hesitate to make advances to the Miguelites, and as usual they could depend upon all the lawless elements in the country. By their Press the whole Government was bespattered daily with abuse unlimited.

Nevertheless, Costa Cabral held a somewhat unassailable position. The Queen had the fullest confidence in him: the palace party, the Upper House, and the privileged classes felt the necessity of keeping on good terms with such an ally. A

General Election, in 1842, gave the Cabinet of which he was a member a devoted House of Deputies. The revolt, restoring the Charter, had been followed by a somewhat profuse bestowal of promotions and decorations: evidently no apprehensions need be entertained in regard to the regular army. As to Costa Cabral and his governing methods, he must be credited with having clearly seen what the chief requirements of the country were, the reforms of which it stood most in need. It may be conceded, too, that a strong governing arm was much needed by Portugal at this juncture. To aid him, he brought to bear on his task great energy and force of character. Under his rule it is undoubted that the country enjoyed three or four years of great progress and prosperity. An "Enlightened Despotism" would perhaps have very well fitted in with the situation. But Costa Cabral strove to maintain himself in power, utterly regardless of all constitutional rights and privileges. The result could not well be other than it was.

In February, 1844, a warning note was sounded. There was a military rising on a small scale, commencing with a cavalry regiment at Torres Novas. Bomfim headed this attempted insurrection, which was followed by a state of revolt at Almeida, as well as amongst the students at Coimbra. But Costa Cabral acted promptly and energetically: Constitutional guarantees were suspended, and martial law was proclaimed; the troops stood firm, and the outbreak collapsed. It was observed that the Miguelites could by no means as yet be regarded as a contemptible force, though, as throughout, they were lacking in organisation. The affair at an end, Costa Cabral adroitly made use of it as an excuse for a further reduction of the National Guard. If, however, the actual insurgents in the field were overthrown, the political coalition against the imperious minister by no means slackened. In addition to a legitimate Constitutional opposition, many causes were preparing his downfall. With each succeeding year of holding office his determination to maintain and enhance his ascendancy had increased. While gifted with no small faculties for creating a devoted following, to his adversaries he was merciless. Government officials, university professors, the Press, even the judges, must show themselves subservient to his rise to power.

Naturally the nobility could not witness, without secret jealousy, the rise of this man of humble extraction to the enjoyment of so much of the royal favour. He was created Count of Thomar, after he had entertained the Queen in the ancient

baronial castle of that name, which his enemies declared he had purchased, and was now magnificently rebuilding, from his ill-gotten gains as Minister of the Interior. An increasingly unbending, self-confident manner asserted itself, and began to keep at a distance even his most faithful friends. It was his misfortune rather than his fault that in a variety of public works, including railways, which were undertaken about this period, there occurred some glaring instances of peculation. In 1845 there was a General Election, which in regard to the methods resorted to by the Government in order to control it appears to have outdone anything of the kind ever before attempted. Opposition speeches were suppressed. The dead and buried were resurrected, wholesale, for the purpose of putting in an appearance at the polling-places; the reluctant were driven to them by force.

Still, in all this, there were no particular grievances to stir up the lower classes. To them Costa Cabral's Cromwellian rule had given an increase of trade, and consequent content. A packed Lower Chamber, an Upper one made up of hereditary Peers and Court nominees, in defiance of the Constitution, were no great blemishes in their eyes. If all the public offices were filled with Costa Cabral's creatures, the people had little doubt that Palmella, Saldanha, or Terceira would, in his position, have acted in precisely the same fashion. When, however, reforms and changes, which directly touched their pockets or their prejudices, began to have place, a general wide-spreading ebullition was the result. One contemplated measure was the abolition of certain small religious and charitable houses, which had survived the general disestablishment of ten years ago. These were more closely associated with the poorer people, but seem as a rule to have been ill-managed and wasteful. The alacrity with which the priesthood, regardless that they were playing into the hands of their inveterate enemies the Septembrists, rose up in defence of these institutions, gives perhaps a clue as to who were most interested in maintaining them. Preparatory to extinction, lists of their properties were made out, whereupon it was promptly declared, from all the pulpits, that this was being done in view of their sale to the heretical English. Much discontent, too, was caused by a decree which compelled taxpayers to schedule all their sources of income. Another measure made provision for the repair of roads, at the expense of the villages through which they passed. In all this Costa Cabral may be credited with a statesmanlike attempt to

do away with what was obsolete or pernicious; certainly so in the reform which raised the fiercest storm of opposition, a decree forbidding, upon sanitary grounds, burials within the churches.

It was this combination which gave to the long ousted Septembrists, impoverished by loss of office, the opening they were so eagerly awaiting, in regard to the common people. They had not been idle: their Juntas, and other revolutionary accompaniments towards seizing and holding power, were all ready to spring into evidence. Septembrist agitators were in touch with the turbulent classes of town and country, including a number of men who had fought under Dom Miguel. As soon as a popular effervescence began, no rumours, no calumnies, falsehoods, or exaggerations, in regard to the Court or the Government, were too monstrous to be set in circulation. In April, 1846, the storm burst: in the first instance in Minho in the extreme north of the kingdom. One early incident was the disinterring, at Braga, of a corpse which according to the new order had been buried in a churchyard. A procession was formed which conducted it to the building, and there re-buried it within the walls. In this women were noticed to be prominently active; during, in fact, the whole outbreak; one in particular, Maria da Fonte, obtained the distinction of having it named after her. There was, however, no mistaking its general character; from the nobles who placed themselves at the heads of their tenantry down to peasants armed with scythes and sickles. It was undoubtedly, too, directed against the Cabrals; for an elder brother of Costa's, Joseph, had been given the Governorship of Lisbon and afterwards a seat in the Cabinet.

The great danger was that the Queen seemed determined, at all hazards, to stand by her conspicuous minister. She was convinced, from his ability and attachment to her, that he would bring her successfully out of her difficulties. As to Cabral, if his stubbornness and overweening belief in himself may to some extent have blinded his judgment, he had good reason to expect that he would find useful support in two important quarters. A concordat with Rome and other measures had gratified the higher clergy, who had no wish to see Septembrism again triumphant. When also he found his opponents working against him by means of an Electoral Society, which was nothing else but a semi-veiled scheme for aiming at his overthrow, he made use of the regimental lodges towards keeping the army with him. But, though it did remain loyal for awhile, its num-

bers were so small, whereas the excitation was so general, that nearly the whole military force was engulfed in the common enthusiasm ; for Traz os Montes, the Beiras, and Alemtejo were all quickly in revolt.

No great excesses were committed ; in fact, there were no opposing objects for the revolutionaries to vent their passions upon. Still, the opportunity was one not likely to be missed by the usual ready disturbers of public order. *Vivas* for Dom Miguel mingled with the *Morras* which were directed against the ministers, the Cabrals in particular. Anarchists and Socialists proclaimed that their millennium had come. In some towns the public records were burnt. Juntas everywhere sprang into existence, several of which assumed to themselves the power of dissolving the Cortes. Others more temperately called for the dismissal of the Cabrals, a change of Ministry, and the cancelling of the taxation and burial decrees. The lower orders clamoured for the restitution of the National Guard in its full strength, though a considerable section of the community would not have opposed its total abolition. It was noticed that while there were Septembrists who abated not a jot of their extremist demands, many assemblages made loyalty to the throne a prominent feature in their oratory and resolutions. One demand of certain leaders in this insurrection was that the 1844 outbreak must be recognised, as far as regarded the honours and promotions awarded by the instigators of it, and that two regiments then disbanded must be re-established.

Confronted by this uprising, alarming rather from its widespread extent than its violence, the Government essayed at first to strengthen its position by suspending the Constitution, a rigorous Press decree, and the arrest of some members of the Opposition. But a collapse commenced, soon to become complete. A riotous outbreak in the capital led to the troops firing on the mob. Cash payments were suspended by the Bank. The Ministry went ; the Cabrals, after hiding themselves at the Spanish Embassy, quitted the kingdom in disguise. It was announced that they had been dismissed by the Queen ; also that none of the measures which had so excited the people, those regarding new taxes and burials, would be enforced. The late restrictions as to the liberty of the individual and the Press were withdrawn. A Council of State which had been instituted under Cabral was abolished. A new electoral law, practically conceding universal suffrage, was hurried forward. The full restoration of the National Guard and a General Elec-

tion were promised. At the same time, a small Cabinet under Palmella was enlarging itself into one of Septembrist tendencies; and this, together with the above concessions, to some extent re-established order. On the other hand, the unsettlement of the people had been so complete that most of them refused to pay any taxes at all. It had been clearly shown, too, that the Miguelites had a powerful, far-reaching organisation. Soon it was seen that the new Premier was distrusted: by the people as to the sincerity of his intentions, by the Court as to his ability to deal with fresh disturbances should they arise.

At this juncture—July, 1846—Saldanha, after an absence of nearly five years, returned to Portugal. During part of this time he had been ambassador at Vienna, the rest he had spent chiefly at Brussels. All parties were eager to gain him, and, from what has already been said in this connection, it will be understood how he was drawn to that at the palace, still quite off its centre, and inconsolable at the loss of Cabral. It hoped now to find a satisfactory substitute in Saldanha, who was to use all his power towards enabling the Queen to emerge from the humilating condition to which, as the Court indignantly maintained, her rule and existence had been brought. But there were the ministers; amongst others Sá-da-Bandeira, an advanced Septembrist, at present War Secretary, and taking advantage of that position, so the palace party declared, to distribute commands and promotions in such a way as to make the army subservient to his personal control and aims. A counter-blow to the revolution was then determined upon. Palmella's Cabinet must be ejected, and another under Saldanha take its place.

The latter seems to have failed altogether to grasp the gravity of the situation as a whole, though he outspokenly told the Queen that the venture would place in jeopardy her throne, as well as his head. "Better by far," she replied, "lose my crown than live thus openly insulted and calumniated day after day." To this palace plot a start was given, on October 6th, by simply inviting Palmella to an audience that night with the Queen, and informing him of his dismissal. A military force was at hand ready to support the enterprise, which was plainly nothing short of an attempt to reassert arbitrary rule. It is not easy to understand why the Court was so infatuated as here to hope for success after the country had demonstrated so unmistakably that such usurpations would be met by armed resistance. An open conflict could but follow, and it almost seems as if this

was intended. At all events, the people believed the proceeding to be the first step towards bringing back to the country and to power the Cabrals, so lately expelled amidst universal expressions of satisfaction. Nor were reasons wanting for this belief. Costa Cabral was at Madrid: the Press nicknamed him the Portuguese ambassador to Spain; officials who had been banished with him were being replaced in State appointments; the lately passed electoral law was set aside. What was more, the Queen was believed to be no mere passive agent in all this; at the clubs she was declared to be the prime mover in it; more loudly than ever before there were cries for her deposition.

The country then quickly and determinedly accepted the challenge thrown down to it. Everywhere the Juntas, after having shown themselves willing to disappear, were re-established; many of them included men of influence and standing. Proclamations appeared as if by magic, found a ready distribution amongst the people, and often contained demands for the abdication of the Queen. The Miguelites had evidently been preparing for this opportunity: they quickly had several bands in the field, at the same time that the old pillaging, guerrilla gangs of an earlier period were found to be again terrorising many parts of the country. Das Antas, in command in the north, placed himself at the head of the movement there, made a general call to arms, and declared that they would not be laid down until the people of Portugal had obtained their just demands. Terceira, who had been despatched to Oporto to lead the troops against the insurgents, was imprisoned as soon as he landed. At Coimbra the civil Governor, Loulé, related by marriage to the Queen, made common cause with the local Junta, and proclaimed the dethronement of the Queen and the establishment of a Regency. Sá-da-Bandeira and Bomfim threw in their lot with the revolutionaries.

A great mistake was no doubt here committed by the Court, in appointing the King Consort to be Commander-in-Chief of the army about to take the field against the insurgents. In dealing with them the Queen announced, at the end of October, that she was about to assume absolute powers. Nevertheless, at the palace, so hopeless was the situation felt to be, that overtures were made to the other members of the Quadruple Alliance. This treaty to some extent still held good, since it was prospective as to future attempts of the Miguelites, and bodies of them were now up in arms, openly proclaiming their aim to be the dethronement of Donna Maria, and the crowning

in her stead of Dom Miguel. As to Spain, it was much disconcerted by this revolution. Its leaders were advanced Liberals, some avowing Republican principles: it had a small extremist section preaching Socialism. There was always a likelihood, during such feverish outbreaks, of the contagion finding its way over the frontier, where it would not now be difficult to raise a similar outcry against the reactionary tendencies of the Court, and where too the Miguelites had their counterpart in the Carlists. Those forces which had driven Christina out of the country might perhaps be, too soon, set in motion against her daughter. Hence, readily enough, a Spanish Corps of Observation made its way to the Portuguese frontier. Regarding the two non-Peninsular signatories to the treaty, this year (1846) was the one in which the "Spanish Marriages Question" became acute—a subject entered into in another chapter; enough here that Great Britain and France could hardly be expected at this juncture to work cordially together. The former Power, however, sent a squadron to the Tagus, and expressed a willingness to mediate: the latter, always eyeing with no small uneasiness republican movements on the other side of the Pyrenees, announced that it too would increase its men-of-war in Portuguese waters.

At Oporto, nearly always the first to give the signal for revolutionary movements of all descriptions, Joseph Passos, brother to Manuel, instituted what was claimed to be, and, in fact, became, a Government for the whole country. The regular troops, supported by the National Guard, declared for him: there was a general demand for arms, for the expulsion of the usurping Ministry, for the freedom of the Queen from coercion, and the extirpation for ever of Cabralism and all its works. Still the insurrection gained no cohesion. Not only had the leaders no fixed plan, contentions and rivalries were soon rendering one impossible. Hence at Oporto the next stage was one of riotous confusion, and some blood was shed. At Lisbon the Court, by its factions and intrigues, was rendered almost equally impotent. Saldanha, however, who had been advanced to a Dukedom, steadied the troops there, which included National Guards and some newly-raised Volunteers. Otherwise, as it seems, the capital must certainly have changed hands, for Bomfim and Das Antas had collected at Santarem a very strong revolutionary force. But Bomfim, when manœuvring with some four thousand men, and aiming to reach Lisbon by a circuitous route, was assailed by Saldanha,

at historic Torres Vedras on the 22nd of December, and decisively beaten. The whole of the defeated force was placed *hors de combat*, either by casualties or surrendering. On the side of the victors about sixty were killed and three hundred wounded.

Yet this success, if it saved the capital, did little beyond, for no corresponding military advantage was gained in the north. Here, about the same time as Saldanha's earlier operations, Cazal established himself in support of the Queen at Braga, some thirty miles from Oporto, with the result that he drove back into the latter town his opponent, Sá-da-Bandeira. He also dispersed some Miguelite bands. But these not merely continued to gain strength; the Oporto Junta soon began formally to make overtures of alliance with them, though they were in arms with the avowed purpose of driving Donna Maria from the throne, and had at first attempted to establish themselves a force apart with this declared aim. Two of their old leaders of the Dom Miguel usurpation period, Povoas and McDonnell, were again commanding them. Yet here also there was a curtailment of strength from discord; for, while there were followers of the Pretender who would have rallied to him on his appearance in their midst, there were many who flatly refused to be associated with the anarchists and proclaimed regicides, to be met with in large numbers amongst his forces. It was into this singular medley of diverse aims and interests that the other three members of the Quadruple Alliance were invited to thrust themselves as pacificators. By the commencement of the New Year, 1847, they were preparing to take common action.

Saldanha, after his victory at Torres Vedras, marched northwards, Das Antas retreating before him. But he was soon reduced to inaction, for, on nearing Oporto, he found the place so strong both in numbers and means of defence that, with his comparatively weak force, a siege or an assault were equally out of the question. The garrison, indeed, was ample enough to permit the despatch of one thousand men by sea, under Sá-da-Bandeira, to Lagos, in the extreme south of the kingdom, whence they marched to Setubal, and acted conjointly with another force already in the field under Count Mello. This southern menace was to be supported by the despatch of an expeditionary force of four or five thousand men under Das Astas; and had the Oporto Junta followed up the design with greater activity than they did, it seems that

the capital must have fallen. For, from the first, the bulk of the populace there had shown but a half-hearted demeanour as to measures of defence. A variety of combatant bodies had been brought hastily into existence, but were found to contain many advanced Septembrists, together with a sprinkling of Miguelites. An enforced circulation of bank-notes had produced considerable exasperation in commercial circles: a bad harvest had been followed by a condition of want and suffering akin to a famine. More alarming still was the disaffection which had appeared in the fleet. Upon a few of the men-of-war regular mutinies occurred: the officers were seized and the ships carried off to Oporto, and this at a moment when it seemed that Saldanha must be hurried from the north to save Lisbon.

The Allies, acting as mediators, proposed a general political amnesty, that all the late illegal decrees of the Government should be annulled, the Cortes summoned, and a Ministry formed containing neither Cabralists nor members of the Oporto Junta. On the part of the Revolutionary Junta, the demands were for a Ministry of their own choosing, the suppression of the post of Commander-in-Chief, the maintenance under arms of their forces, until had been brought about a re-establishment of the National Guard, which was then to garrison Lisbon, Oporto, and other important towns. This carries events to May, 1847, in which month the Allies more actively intervened. As a British squadron under Admiral Maitland held the mouth of the Douro, little option was given to Das Antas at Oporto but to surrender his expeditionary force of about four thousand men, which had been embarked, and was on the eve of quitting for operations in the south. A Spanish division closed on the city, so enabling Saldanha to act in a like manner, and thus, in short, causing a collapse of the revolutionary movement in the north.

Meantime a terrible experience had been gone through by the capital. At its very gates Sá-da-Bandeira's force continued to gather strength. By the middle of April the tumults within had risen to such a pitch that all the necessary preparations were made for the Queen to seek refuge upon one of the foreign men-of-war in the Tagus. British and Spanish crews were held in readiness to land. Consternation was at its height when, on the 29th of April, over one thousand prisoners, criminal or merely political, were released in the midst of welcoming crowds. Sá-da-Bandeira humanely

forebore at such a crisis to push his advantage, though he had some four thousand men under his command. Then negotiations were entered upon having an amnesty for their basis. But there was an outcry against this amongst the insurgents, and while their commander opposed a conflict which he saw might be avoided, some of his subordinates and civilian advisers forced matters, with a result that on May 1st the Queen's General gained a success, if not a decisive one, at Alto do Vizo. Before either side was prepared again to resume hostilities the course of events in the north became known, and so paved the way for an armistice, followed on the 24th of June by the Convention of Gramido, which finally put an end to this civil war.

Saldanha after this continued to hold the chief posts in the Cabinet for two years more, a period of comparative calm. The strife at an end, a first great difficulty was that, foreign intervention having asserted itself, the Chartists could not well boast their cause victorious on its merits, while the Septembrists declaimed that, in their struggle for liberty and justice, they had been most unfairly frustrated just at the moment of success. Both antagonists chafed under the mortification of being dictated to by the Allies, whose conditions, as already alluded to were, in brief, a full amnesty, a cancelling of all illegal enactments, and the exclusion from positions of influence of the chiefs of the Cabral party. Hence Septembrists and Miguelites continued to conspire together, and to stir up the people against paying their areas of taxes, and to oppose every description of projected reform. At the same time, as it happened, there was a reflux of public opinion in favour of the Count of Thomar, who had been ambassador at Madrid since November, 1846, and had returned to Portugal soon after the stoppage of the civil war. The difficulties under which he had laboured began to be more fully recognised, his firm attitude in regard to Great Britain now obtained a readier appreciation. If he had ruled absolutely, he had shown himself a discerning reformer, and had given a period of prosperity to the country. Moreover, the Queen had lost nothing of her personal attachment towards him, and had consulted him when absent on all important affairs of State. He now promised to give a full support to Saldanha, who appears to have honestly attempted to steer a middle course between Septembrism and the reactionary tendencies of the palace.

Though Saldanha had a very high place in the estimation of

all Portuguese, from his Sovereigns downwards, the Chartists, who should seemingly have united to keep him in power, remained a divided political body; nor did he display the adroitness which might have brought about a harmonious unity, nor even that which sufficed to keep his Cabinets in hand. Thomar, on the contrary, notwithstanding the late general outburst against him, continued during this administration to gather around himself a number of his former adherents, as well as many of those Chartists who were dissatisfied with Saldanha. The Court felt the former to be their most valuable upholder, but were aware that the latter, at an emergency, would probably have behind him the army. Whatever else happened, it was inevitable that a rivalry must sooner or later develop itself between the two prominent statesmen. Thomar's enemies insist that, almost from the first, he formed the set design of supplanting Saldanha. Means, in 1849, were not wanting. This was a period of railway and other contracts; in regard to which some members of the Government had undoubtedly had illicit interests. Accusations were brought forward against them; insinuations and recriminations were bandied about in both Chambers; some very discreditable scenes occurred; and, though Saldanha himself appears to have had altogether clean hands, the continuance of his Cabinet was plainly impossible. In June he resigned, and was succeeded by Thomar.

The reinstated minister attempted, with no less energy and decision than he had before shown, to forward many of the true interests of the country. He devoted himself, and with ability, to an unravelment of the financial entanglements of the treasury. But, as before, his autocratic methods were soon asserting themselves. A stringent Press law, though justified by the scurrilous attacks which some papers thought fit to make upon the private life of the Queen, was one chief means of uniting an opposition of irreconcilable Septembrists and dissident Chartists. He himself was calumniated almost daily. One accusation levelled against him was that he had taken advantage of his position to obtain a lease of valuable Crown property on exceedingly favourable terms; another that he had sold one of the highest State decorations. With more justice his partisans in office were charged with enriching themselves, at the expense of their country, by means of the many contracts for public works in the market at this period. These aspersions continued to be made the most of, in some cases

without a particle of foundation. They were brought before the Cortes, where the Premier obtained large votes of confidence. Still, such an assailing, reiterated by unscrupulous enemies determined on bringing about the downfall of the minister, could not but weaken his position. What was no less damaging, as far as the lower orders were concerned, was that his influence with the Queen herself was declaimed against, as in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of the nation, in a particular manner. The worst constructions were put upon their conferences and friendship.

Mixed up with this rancorous activity, Saldanha, to the detriment of his good repute, was frequently prominent. Presently he had the temerity bluntly to ask the Queen to dismiss Thomar. For this, after the matter had been carried to the Cabinet and found its way to the Upper Chamber, he himself was removed from the position of Mordomo Mor, the highest at Court, corresponding to that of Lord Chamberlain, held always by men of distinction, an office from which there had been dismissals previously only for heinous offences. Saldanha demanded a court-martial. He was refused, and in no very courteous terms, upon which he publicly accused his rival of venality and corruption, with a result that he was further humiliated by dismissal from his posts as member of the Supreme Military Council, and as aide-de-camp to the King. By this time, justly or unjustly, the tide of popularity had turned against Thomar. We have seen why he should find an antagonism in most of the papers, which in those days meant that he was maligned as the most infamous of traitors to the State, and the lower orders appear to have accepted as gospel a good deal that found its way into print. During this reign, from an unpopular chief minister to the Court was never a very far cry. Songs insulting to the Queen were heard nightly in the streets and taverns. Plainly the country was working up for another revolution. Everywhere the Septembrists were seen to be organising their forces. Thomar and Saldanha must quickly measure swords; that was evident to all classes.

But Thomar determinedly, obstinately, stuck at his post, in disdain of a coalition daily growing stronger and fiercer, while the Court turned a deaf ear alike to the counsels of some of the highest personages in the country, and to those of the representatives of certain of the foreign Powers. Saldanha's popularity and influence with the army seemed to be forgotten inside the palace, at the same time that all eyes without con-

tinued to be drawn towards him as the man who must overthrow the domineering favourite. Not merely was this the case with Septembrists and professional agitators: a considerable section of the community feared that if the Queen persisted in retaining Thomar at the head of affairs she might be driven out of Portugal. Hence many leading men inclined to group themselves around Saldanha: several Generals, including Das Antas, placed their swords at his disposal. A political programme of reforms was agreed upon, including direct voting, the abolition of entails and of an hereditary Upper Chamber. Saldanha, as soon as he believed that he was quite sure of the army, let it be known that he was prepared to act.

From Cintra, on April 7, 1851, he issued a proclamation inviting officers in command to save the Queen and Charter. There was, however, not that immediate response which he had been led to expect. At Coimbra, indeed, he was enthusiastically received, but Oporto showed little inclination to welcome his envoys. Not only this; he perceived with dismay that he was merely encouraging a rising of Septembrists, in common with their usual republican and anarchical following. So convinced he became that his attempt was doomed to failure, that he threw it up in despair and crossed the frontier into Spain. Then quickly a transformation developed itself in Oporto. Some arrests which were made of refractory soldiers brought about the revolt of the whole garrison: the civil authorities pronounced in favour of the movement. Saldanha returned, found himself master of the situation in the north, and marched off at the head of a body of troops for Coimbra.

Meantime, at Lisbon, Ferdinand took command of a force with which he moved northwards, and entered Coimbra at about the moment when affairs had assumed their gloomiest aspect for Saldanha. Even so the King-Consort found little encouragement in his own situation. There were signs of disaffection in his ranks. A deputation of influential citizens urged him to dismiss Thomar. Soon came news of Saldanha's sudden change of fortune. Townspeople and troops as rapidly declared for him; the students even going so far as to oblige Ferdinand to doff his head-dress, and give *vivas* for his once more ascendant General, now heading an armed rebellion against him. Hereupon he returned submissively to the capital. Thomar, a sacrifice to the venalities of his political party, rather than the expiator of his own shortcomings as a statesman, quitted the kingdom. By this time the country generally, and

the army, had demonstrated that they approved the courses adopted at Oporto and Coimbra. The Queen, almost humbly, invited Saldanha to take upon himself the direction of affairs. On May 1st he was again Premier of Portugal, with, of course, all his dignities and decorations restored to him. He was also, it is said at his own insistence, appointed Commander-in-Chief in the place of the King-Consort.

He thus held a position in the country more than ever conspicuous. At his bidding was the army. To the Queen, in no small awe of him, he forcibly pointed out that she must confine herself within the recognised bounds of a Constitutional Sovereignty, and that a rule, such as the late one, of arbitrariness, favouritism, and corruption had undoubtedly jeopardised her crown. He had necessarily, in forming a Cabinet, to give some predominance to the Septembrist element, in union with which he had again mounted to power. A first work was the introduction of a new electoral law, very much extending the franchise; and here he gave way to the importunities of his Radical supporters to such a point that no small discontent arose amongst his more Conservative following. Concessions and moderation were, however, the order of the day: the strictures on the Press were loosened, soon followed a tactful amnesty. Saldanha, while attempting to justify the manner in which he had lately headed a popular insurrectionary movement, at the same time announced that the Charter, in defence of which he had so often hastened to draw his sword, admitted of certain amendments in a Liberal sense. In pursuance of this, during 1852, an Additional Act was appended to it. A suffrage, practically universal, was conceded; voting was to be direct; the death penalty for political offences was abolished; Local Government was extended, and the Cortes were to have a fuller control over the finances. Confronted, however, before this by a somewhat obstructive general opposition, the new Premier simply adopted that very system of governing which he had declared to the Queen to be so pernicious. He ruled by decrees; and at two General Elections, which took place in less than eighteen months after he was at the head of affairs, little difference could be perceived between his methods of making certain of a majority and those of the Cabrals.

Changed political groupings now established themselves. In short, with the passing of the Additional Act, the contentions between Chartists and Septembrists ceased: their names had lost their meaning. Saldanha's party, that with which he

especially identified himself, issued forth as Regenerators. Many moderate Septembrists joined him ; others formed a party calling themselves Progressists or Historicals. The programme of the Regenerators was Reform grafted on the Charter, loyalty to the throne, and an acceptance of accomplished facts. The Historicals clung to the out-and-out traditional aims of the Septembrist party.

Saldanha held office for some five years. About midway, in November, 1853, Queen Maria II. died somewhat suddenly. Her reign, we see, had been almost unceasingly troublous ; yet throughout it she had uniformly shown a kind, generous disposition, on many occasions a conspicuous courage. It must not be lost sight of that, almost to the end, there was a considerable malcontent party which aimed at replacing Dom Miguel on the throne, and a faction, much more virulent, conspiring for her dethronement and the substitution of a republic. Neither of these hesitated to fabricate infamous calumnies regarding her private life, and there was never wanting a Press ready to circulate them. It was thus inevitable that she should be driven under the protection of powerful ministers, such as Saldanha or Thomar, and be drawn into some connivance at their measures, however unconstitutional. For both of these, if unduly ambitious, and grasping at office sometimes chiefly for its emoluments, were staunch supporters of Monarchy, and had at heart the advancement and welfare of their country.

Donna Maria was herself no less sincerely desirous that her people should enjoy, in a fair measure, those liberties which they were so constantly clamouring for, but which, from a lamentable ignorance, political backwardness, slavish superstitions, and an excitable temperament, they were altogether unfitted to receive wholesale. In the many eventful conflicts and passages of her reign she was neither dejected by misfortune nor blinded by success. No vindictive reprisals followed the detections of the most menacing conspiracies. There was, necessarily perhaps, a considerable amount of interference in State affairs on the part of the representatives of other Powers. It was easy to misrepresent this, and so to embitter the intrigues of Court factions, together with the animosities directed against her husband and some of her sincerest advisers, merely because they were foreigners. At the time of her death it must have been gratifying to her to know that all this calumniating had subsided to mere explosions of spitefulness, that the agitations for her dethronement were becoming equally contemptible, and the Miguelites had become a discredited body.

CHAPTER X

ISABELLA II

AS briefly alluded to, there was a dissolution of the Spanish Cortes in the midsummer of 1839. By this time the Moderates, owing partly to their inability to suppress a series of outbreaks which had taken place apart from the war, and to their own discords in the face of a compact, persistent Opposition, had brought their popularity to a low ebb. A crisis had been hastened, in March of that year, by an attempt at an adjournment of the Cortes before the Budget had been submitted. This ranged Moderates and Progressists against the Ministry, at that time headed by Perez de Castro. The Dissolution took place on July 1st, and a General Election witnessed a complete veering round of the political weathercock. A Progressist majority sat in the next Assembly. Naturally a Ministry, taken from their opponents and continued in office, was at once the recipient of cuts and thrusts from all around. Attached to it, however, was the distinction that, under it, Don Carlos had been brought to terms; while, amidst the general jubilations, a spirit of fraternisation and concord had been evolved. It was upheld, too, of course, by Court and Regent.

Moreover, there quickly ensued fierce and protracted debates upon the subject of the Fueros: privileges which were now assured to the Basque Provinces, but subject to modifications, vaguely defined. Still the inevitable could not long be delayed. Ministers were declared by an almost unanimous vote to have acted unconstitutionally. There was a prorogation, and during it, on November 18th, another Dissolution, less than five months after the last, was decreed. Espartero now thrust himself prominently to the front. To the great delight of the furious Progressists, he issued, through his military secretary, a manifesto, setting forth in plain terms his opinion that the Constitution was being tampered with. It fell upon the public

in the midst of the General Election. The Ministry attempted to obtain a retraction, but Espartero followed up by a second manifesto, still more outspoken and emphatic. He had his own grounds for indignation, in the fact that Alaix, a War Secretary devoted to him throughout, had been shouldered out of the Cabinet. The Ministry, while submitting to these rebuffs, fought might and main, by fair means and foul, for a majority. And they were completely successful. In a combined House of 241 members they could count upon 171 votes.

With the opening of the Cortes, in February, 1840, a fierce political struggle commenced. Espartero emphasised his position by demanding and obtaining the promotion of Linage, the officer who had penned his impulsive declarations. The Cabinet, however, of which nearly all the members had by this time been changed at least once, believing in their strength, proceeded, in reversal of previous Progressist legislature, with a series of measures regarding the clergy, their establishments and sources of income. The Cortes then took what proved to be a fatal step. A blow was aimed at the municipalities, by means of a law which would have reduced to a shadow the powers and influence of those bodies, composed at the time chiefly of men of liberal ideas—in short, of Progressists. The projected measure was an undoubted violation of the Constitution ; it passed, however, by a very large majority. On this a storm of agitation swept across the country, during the progress of which the Regent, accompanied by the young Queen, proceeded upon a tour through the eastern provinces. While, on the one hand, vast enthusiastic crowds, triumphal arches, and similar appearances of loyalty and affection greeted them, on the other hand a variety of deputations, as well as the inscriptions freely placarded on the walls, intimated to them the unpopularity of the threatened Municipal Law. Espartero, at this moment more than ever the idol of the people, owing to his recent successes against Cabrera, solemnly warned the Regent as to the general feeling of the country. All in vain. At Barcelona, on July 14th, the Royal Assent was given to the measure.

Significant events now followed one another with rapidity. Espartero tendered a resignation of his command and offices ; Barcelona showed itself ready for a popular outbreak ; the Ministry asked to be relieved, and was succeeded by one partly Progressist. Various local bodies began to act, plainly in concert. The Municipality of Madrid decided by a solemn vote to resist the new law by force, while the National Militia

promised their support. On September 2nd words had been followed by action: a Provisional Governing Junta had been established. By this time the Regent was at Valencia, where orders were issued to Espartero directing him to restore the royal authority in the capital. The Junta, however, had communicated to him their policy, of which the cardinal points were: Isabella II.; Christina as Regent; the Constitution of 1837; National Independence. Espartero declared that the army would not oppose such a programme, and the next stage of affairs was that he himself became head of a Cabinet, the fourth which had been formed in less than two months. But the Madrid Junta now more definitely formulated its demands. The law relating to the municipalities must be annulled; the evil counsellors of the Regent disavowed; her Camarilla discarded; and the Cortes dissolved. Espartero proceeded with the new ministers to Valencia, trusting to effect an accommodation. Then came a surprise. Christina had taken an altogether unexpected resolution. She announced that she would abdicate, a determination to which she gave effect by embarking for France on October 17, 1840.

Queen Christina, in her public act of renunciation, drew attention to the fact that, as provided for by the Constitution, the Regency passed to the Ministry: thus, the Cortes having been dissolved, Espartero and his Cabinet obtained a legal exercise of power until a new Assembly could be brought together. The voice of the land anticipated with enthusiasm his elevation to Regent; for he was a hero with the people and had done much to merit their warmest confidence. From the commencement almost of the Civil War he had held high commands: his few failures, his occasional dilatoriness in the field, the severity, unnecessary perhaps, with which he had chastised the mutinous regiments in 1837, were all readily forgotten; while the glories of Bilbao, the signal part he had taken at a critical moment in the defence of the capital, his share in the expulsion of Don Carlos and the discomfiture of Cabrera were gratefully remembered. In the affections of the army his thoughtful consideration, many times shown towards the rank and file, had given him a high place. The Juntas, clubs, and secret societies, tinged many of them with a spirit of republicanism, had viewed with gratification a man of humble origin pointing out to a queen the line of political conduct which she must follow. Above all, he was an honest upholder of Constitutional rights, and capable, the nation trusted, of

defending them against reactionary monarchists, aspiring Generals, and designing priests.

Necessarily the position was surrounded by many difficulties and intricacies. Not merely were there numerous local Juntas, but many of these were animated by a violent desire to elect, from their own members, Deputies who should constitute a Central Junta holding its sittings in the capital. That of Madrid, however, resigned its authority in favour of the Minister-Regency, and the others in due course submitted to effacement, yet not without leaving a somewhat formidable section of discontented Republican extremists. In the Basque Provinces, though the people ought seemingly to have been soothed by the concession of their Fueros, the opposition exhibited by Biscay and Guipuzcoa towards the Central Government made it evident that tactful, delicate handling would be necessary for some time to come in that region. With Navarre, however, concord was readily re-established. The disbandment also and relegation to civil life of a considerable portion of a military force, including local militia regiments, after so many years of strife, was a matter which gave much concern to the Government.

Furthermore, the ex-Regent had no sooner taken up her residence in Paris than she became the leading spirit in a persistent course of intrigues, directed against that political party at whose hands she had suffered the humiliations of La Granja and of the final scenes of her Regency. O'Donnell and Narvaez were in these plottings, which received every encouragement from Louis Philippe, who could readily embarrass the Spanish Government by countenancing the Carlist refugees, still hovering in considerable numbers about the Pyrenees. With Rome, too, there was open warfare. It was discovered that the acting Nuncio was insidiously causing the circulation of rumours to the effect that the general authority of the Holy Father was being subverted. The offending legate was conducted to the frontier, while the civil courts of the country were empowered to deal with ecclesiastical causes.

A General Election in February, 1841, took place under conditions quite new to Spain. The Government declared that its members would make no attempt to influence the constituencies: each voter was to go to the poll led only by his own convictions; and this undertaking seems to have been adhered to. Nevertheless the Moderates, except in the Basque Provinces, practically declined the contest; with the result that of course Pro-

gressist Deputies almost everywhere obtained seats. Necessarily the pressing, the momentous question at issue, on the opening of the Cortes in March was in regard to the form of government to be adopted. As the infant Queen, Isabella, was not yet eleven years of age a Regency there must be. That this should be composed of five members was an opinion at one time advocated. Then it became a case of three or one: at which juncture Espartero, ill-advisedly even according to his partisans, made it known through the public Press that, should the voting of the Cortes decide in favour of three, he would retire into private life. In the sequel he was himself chosen in May to be sole Regent. Shortly afterwards a fresh Cabinet was formed under Gonzalez.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to nominate Argüelles as tutor to the young Queen: an appointment intended to rectify a neglected education and to purify of its mystic, superstitious elements the atmosphere which had surrounded the child under the rule of her mother. Together with this a clearance was made of a number of Court intriguers and parasites: to which action Christina retorted by inflammatory protests and by more daringly encouraging her clerical and other reactionist partisans, who were strengthened, now that the war was a thing of the past, by a fusion of reconciled Carlists. At the same time, regarding entails, education, tithes, the clergy and the sale of their endowments, the Cabinet was committed to a continuance of the aims of the Progressist party; to whom it was soon unfortunately only too apparent that statecraft was a gift not vouchsafed to Espartero. He weakened his position by choosing as ministers devoted personal adherents, rather than the men whose previous political careers marked them out as most likely to compensate for his own shortcomings. He thus found himself with a somewhat dissatisfied party, a vulnerable Cabinet and a dwindling majority when, in October, 1841, he was confronted with outbreaks at Bilbao, Vitoria, Pamplona, and Saragossa. Beyond doubt the scheming of the ex-Regent had helped forward most of these, which in effect proved but half-hearted affairs, and were put down without difficulty, though not without giving the Opposition fair grounds for asserting that, by the exercise of greater circumspection, much of this plotting could have been foiled before arriving at maturity.

In Madrid the rising assumed, for a moment, a really startling aspect. There was indeed an attempt to seize the young Queen

herself. About sunset on the 7th of October the royal palace was attacked by a body of some three hundred soldiers of the garrison, who had gained over fellow conspirators amongst the men actually on guard. Though met by point-blank volleys, the assailants gained access to the inner courtyard, penetrating thence to the staircase leading directly to the upper chambers. Here a few faithful halberdiers heroically barred further ingress; though during a brisk exchange of shots several bullets found their way to the apartment occupied by the royal Princesses. It was soon, however, evident that the assistance expected from certain other regiments was not forthcoming. The conspirators were, in fact, themselves being surrounded by loyal troops. Before dawn the attempt, certainly a most desperate one while it lasted, had proved a failure, and the remnants of this rash attacking band were nearly all prisoners. Espartero himself now hurried to the Basque Provinces, where this conspiracy plainly had its focus, and where, after having a hand in the closing scenes of pacification, by a single edict he suppressed the renowned Fueros. This corner of Spain was brought under the same laws as the rest of the country. Some time before the ex-Regent was deprived of her pension.

In the east of the Peninsula there was an outbreak of an altogether different character. Far from aiming at a return of Christina with her Divine Right surroundings, it was a distinct pronouncement of republican principles. Its stronghold was Barcelona, where Espartero, following a procedure legalised, it may almost be said, by usage, had reorganised the militia in such a manner that he could look to it to support him in his Progressist measures. Thus encouraged, agitators, clubs, newspapers, and societies were soon giving full evidence of views much more advanced. The city was notably Centralist; that is to say, it led the way in advocating a Central Junta, to be formed of Deputies from the local ones; and there had been much denunciation of the submissive way in which the Madrid Junta had effaced itself in favour of the Minister-Regency. Afterwards there had been heated controversies amongst the militia regiments as to whether an address of congratulation should be sent to Espartero on his election; for a Regency of three seemed more in accordance with their republican notions. Furthermore, the people wished to demolish certain portions of their ancient town walls, together with the citadel, and, taking advantage of the absence of a garrison had set to work with much zeal. Van Halen, the General who had been despatched with

the troops to quell disturbances elsewhere, returned. He acted with great and tactless severity: a state of siege was proclaimed; the clubs, other local institutions, and some of the militia regiments were broken up.

This occurred towards the end of 1841, and, as usual, Catalonia seconded its leading city. Hence a state of ferment and disorder in the east generally was added to the embarrassments of the Government. In May of the following year the fall of the Gonzalez Cabinet, owing to certain questionable transactions of its finance member, was brought about. Plainly Espartero's power was losing force: the ex-Regent, the French party, the Carlists were all working to undermine it. At the same time he did little, in his own person, to maintain his prominence. To the public display and ceremonial, which his position entitled him to make use of, he was averse; to intrigues and slanders, after the manner of his enemies, it was not in his nature to stoop. A Spanish writer compares him to a sluggish bull, standing defiantly in the arena, while agile persecutors are bent on bringing him to his knees. Though idolised by the rank and file of the army, it was inevitable that he should be regarded with envy by many of the military commanders, most of them political agitators to boot. To all these, it must be borne in mind, the present was a moment of vital importance in attaining or keeping office. For the date of the young Queen's majority was not remote; there were rumours that it would be anticipated; plainly, a vantage-point near the throne, at the commencement of a new reign, was of paramount importance.

While Espartero continued but feebly to oppose an increasing antagonism, Barcelona, towards the close of the year 1842, was the scene of fresh explosions of violence. The enemies of the Regent had here been busy; they had harangued against a commercial treaty with Great Britain as detrimental to the special industries of the city; the inhabitants, still chafing under their just grievances, had been further incensed by his ordering them to rebuild their walls at their own expense. The outcome of the ferment was that the regular troops were arrayed against the militia, aided by the people, with the result that the former were compelled to retire worsted, after a conflict which cost them some four hundred killed and wounded. In the sequel they were compelled to evacuate the citadel and other posts. By this time the militia had increased to a formidable body: villagers had flocked to the scene from

the neighbourhood, and were assisting at the numerous barricades which were in course of erection. A governing Junta had been formed.

Van Halen, however, who on this occasion too had acted indiscreetly and precipitately, held Montjuich, an elevated fort enabling him to bombard the town. Reinforcements began to arrive; he was soon in sufficient force to drive the insurgents from the suburbs, and then to commence a blockade. Aiding him, the usual dissensions set in. Some half-dozen would-be governing bodies had come into existence. Moreover, it had dawned upon certain of the leaders in the city that they were but the tools of a political party scheming for the overthrow of the existing Government, as a preliminary to the return of Christina. These considerations induced certain leading townsmen to make pacific overtures to Van Halen, who was known to contemplate a bombardment. Interviews took place—in short, everything pointed to a cessation of hostilities, when Espartero appeared on the scene. A bombardment was ordered. It lasted only during a day—December 3rd—and but few lives were lost. Nevertheless, as the opposition had rested mainly with the militia, that body, in Madrid and elsewhere, no longer maintained its hitherto ready devotion to Espartero.

This was obvious to all, in a marked way, on his return to the capital on the first day of the new year, 1843. Here he was soon face to face with a strange coalition: Moderates and Republicans banded themselves against him; desertion set in amongst the Progressists. He now—January 3rd—decreed a Dissolution; but though most strenuous efforts were made towards rallying electors, and refuting the endless calumnies which had been cast at him, the coalition held a majority of some thirty votes in the new Assembly, which opened on April 3rd. In the following month Lopez succeeded Rodil as chief minister. His projected measures included liberty of the Press, the reorganisation of the militia, the abolition of states of siege, purity of elections, the ablest men only in the most responsible State positions, and a general amnesty. The last named only necessitates consideration. It struck at Espartero, since it opened a way for restoring to command those Generals who had conspired against him, as leaders in the outbreaks of 1841; at all events, it permitted them to return to the capital. He now hurled defiance at his enemies; the ten days' old Ministry of Lopez was dismissed, and another, wholly Progressist, was appointed. At this the Cortes no less readily

accepted the challenge. A heated, uproarious sitting was held, where expressions far from parliamentary were flung at the Regent. Hereupon—May 26th—in a wild, blind way, he decreed a second Dissolution.

This high-handed action gave a signal eagerly awaited. The partisans of Christina had been assiduously preparing their powder-trains: now, taking advantage of the sudden indignation of an inflammable people, they everywhere applied the match, and an explosion ensued extending to nearly the whole of Spain. Cities as far apart as Valladolid, Malaga, and Tarragona felt the shock. Indeed, the quickest way to show the change which had been wrought is to mention that Madrid itself, Cadiz, and Saragossa were perhaps the only three places of note which stood firm for Espartero. Juntas were chosen as usual, and some attempted to work in unison. Everywhere arose a denunciation of late events, and a cry that the Lopez Cabinet must be regarded as still in existence. Mingling with these there were usually demonstrations in favour of the young Queen, or of the Constitution of 1837. The bulk of the troops, including the militia, floated with the current.

Espartero thus was confronted with an almost universal condemnation of his acts, and appeared to be himself dumfounded at the suddenness of this shattering of his fortunes. After remaining for some time inactive in Madrid, he took post with a following of five or six thousand men at Albacete. Movements of similar sized bodies rather than a campaign ensued. Generals Zurbano and Seone, with some regiments yet faithful to the Regent, marched from Lerida for Barcelona. Half-way, on approaching a force from the latter town, there was such an evident disposition amongst their men to desert, that they retired towards Saragossa. Aspiroz, elected Captain-General of Valladolid by its Junta, marched to the vicinity of the capital, and placed himself in communication with certain of the leading men there. Narvaez hurried from exile to Valencia, where he was at once confided with the command of the troops. He, too, after having been joined on the way by a force sent to oppose him, took up a position close outside Madrid, while the garrison within still maintained its allegiance. Towards the end of July Zurbano and Seone also arrived. On the 22nd, at Torrejon, they attempted a battle, with the result that they found themselves merely actors in a comedy. Their infantry flatly refused to engage; their artillery, on receiving orders to fire upon their uncompliant brethren, amused them-

selves by sending up some shots high into the air. Now the cavalry were brought forward for a charge: they responded by passing over bodily to Narvaez. Madrid immediately threw open its gates, and there was a general fraternisation amidst *vivas* for the young Queen, for the Constitution of 1837, for Liberty and Lopez.

Espartero, after an aimless stay at Albacete, drifted southwards and joined his faithful lieutenant Van Halen, who had occupied Cordova and then obtained from Cadiz a siege train, with which he was now bombarding Seville. Soon came news of the turn of events at Madrid; whereupon there set in a general desertion, which extended even to the personal staff of Van Halen, who on July 30th wound up, absolutely alone and in civilian dress, a retreat which he had commenced with a portion of his force in the direction of Cadiz. From that port Espartero was already sailing, a refugee bound for England. His friends claim for him that, after taking the field, he was actuated by a determination that, in a cause so hopeless, no blood should be shed. The ebullition of indignation raised against him was certainly, in no small degree, deserved; yet it is curious to compare it with the complacent manner in which the people, before and afterwards, submitted to Constitutional violations ten times more glaring. His fall is rather to be sought in the all-powerful coalition formed against him by a combination of unscrupulous, self-seeking politicians, the vindictiveness of Christina, and the resentment of the Vatican.

Following this, Barcelona again had its special chapter of history. It had eagerly enough seized the opportunity of avenging Espartero's bombardment, by declaring him expelled from the Regency: it had then welcomed, as the country's universal minister, Serrano, who had held the portfolio of War in the Lopez Cabinet, and who had promised to further the aims of the inhabitants as to a Central Junta at Madrid. With the entry of the successful Generals into the capital this scheme was necessarily dissipated, while the Moderate agitators, satisfied with the flight of Espartero, quietly disappeared. Barcelona, thus made use of and flung aside, fumed in turbulent indignation. Delegates were sent to Madrid; a deaf ear was turned to their representations; then up went the banner of revolt; barricades were erected in the streets, and a general attitude of defiance appeared in other parts of Catalonia. Prim, destined to have his name for several years in every one's mouth, and to

a tragic death, was the General selected to reduce the town to obedience—a task facilitated by the loyal attitude of the regular troops who garrisoned it. A bombardment, added to the failure of ammunition and supplies, brought to an end in November a six weeks' siege, and, in fact, for some years to come, civil strife of a serious nature in Spain. It may here be noticed that these Centralists, or advocates of a Central Junta, in due course evolved themselves into a political party, known as Federal Republicans.

Meanwhile the general clamour, which had accompanied the exit of Espartero from the Regency and the country, had declared in favour of the restitution of the unceremoniously treated Lopez Ministry. But all shades of political parties, including the Carlists, had combined to bring about the former event: at the same time that upon scarcely any other question was there agreement; upon many issues there was utter discord. From this confusion the Moderates soon emerged into a position of dominance, which they held for some ten years to come. Just at this juncture, on November 8, 1843, Isabella was declared to be of an age to assume the government, though, by the Constitution, not legally so until fourteen years old, nearly a year later.

Barely had she taken the prescribed oaths when there occurred an event which revealed, in an anything but attractive light, some of the surroundings of her throne. With the new reign had been ushered in a new Cabinet. Lopez was succeeded by Olozaga, a Progressist with a Cortes on whose fidelity he could by no means rely. Suddenly Madrid rang with the news that he had used violence towards the Queen. The truth, to this day, has not been made quite clear. Certain it is that he desired a Dissolution, since, as minister in being, he could mould the complexion of the new Cortes. In pursuance of this, having with him the decree of Dissolution, he obtained an interview with the Queen alone. According to her she refused her signature, whereupon he threatened and frightened her into a compliance. He himself, in the Cortes, denied most emphatically the accusation: the Queen equally persistently adhered to her statement. On the whole, the evidence points towards proving that she was incited in the matter by a Carmarilla bent upon ousting Olozaga and his Cabinet.

In March, 1844, Queen Christina returned and obtained the restoration of her pension. Such good qualities as she had evinced in her early married life were now dominated by a

desire for power and position. She at once showed herself eagerly ready to have a finger in every State affair or Court intrigue, while the treatment she had experienced at the hands of the Liberals had naturally left a residue of hatred towards all shades of that party. Hence her influence over her daughter tended towards reactionary despotic measures, and to a recovery of power by the priesthood. She found at the head of the administration Gonzalez Brabo, who some years before, as a journalist, had been foremost in showering her with abuse in the public Press. In May he made way for Narvaez, though not before he had felt himself strong enough to commence crippling the National Militia, the municipalities, and freedom in publications. Such outbreaks as resulted were put down with a forcible hand, for the new Premier was of the blood and iron class of men. Spain, too, appeared to be in one of her apathetic, despondent moods : she had tried Cortes and Cabinets of every political bias, and found them all alike wanting. A General Election, from which the Progressists held aloof, placed power wholly in the hands of the Moderates. Before the new Cortes assembled, in October, one or two other significant events had occurred. The sales of ecclesiastical property had been suspended. Argüelles and other safe monitors had yielded place to officials devoted heart and soul to the old order of affairs. Here, then, we have the beginnings of a ten years' Divine Right rule.

Narvaez, fearless and unscrupulous, willingly supported these absolutist pretensions. Under him, in 1845, was promulgated a new Constitution, which had come under discussion the previous autumn. It professed to be a reform of that of 1837, but from what has just been said it need hardly be added that the changes were not towards Liberalism. The expression, "Sovereignty of the People," disappeared from the new Code, as did the right of the Cortes to assemble if not convoked. The Senate was to be composed of life members, unlimited in number, chosen by the Crown ; and there was a proposal, during the discussion under this head, to return to a hereditary Chamber. The Deputies, one to every fifty thousand of the population, were elected for five years instead of three, and upon a much restricted franchise. An altogether subordinate position was allotted to the municipalities. The National Militia was disbanded. Press offences were no longer submitted to a jury. Such the main outlines of the Constitution of 1845, or of decrees issued during the same year, manifestly one of reaction. For

the debates revealed that there were members of the Cortes who would have yielded to the Crown a much fuller prerogative, and that there was even an extreme party which would have voted for a reversal of all the enactments of thirty-five years, regarding entails and mortmain, and would have viewed with gratification the religious houses resuming their condition as in the preceding century. Thus Isabella's reign opened with Court, ministers, Cortes, a newly created Council of State, and the priesthood acting in unison, towards an attainment of those arbitrary powers which Ferdinand VII. had shown himself so persistently determined to exercise.

Of the many plottings and counterplottings which have centred in the royal palace at Madrid few can have lasted longer, or had wider ramifications, than those arising from the "Spanish Marriages Question"; that is, the allotting of husbands to the Queen and her sister. The intrigues began while the children were still in their cradles; the intriguers ranged from crowned rulers down to some music and dancing masters, who were detected submitting surreptitiously to the young Princesses portraits of would-be suitors. Queen Christina's ambition at first soared to a double union with the Dukes of Aumale and Montpensier, sons of Louis Philippe, King of France, who, however, himself disclaimed the project as far as Isabella was concerned; at the same time he insisted that she must marry a Bourbon and no other. This brought forth a candidate in the person of Count Trapani, brother to Ferdinand II. of the Two Sicilies as well as to Christina herself. Unfortunately for any chance he had, he was discovered to be an inmate of a Jesuit college: hence a strong manifestation of popular indignation arose against him.

Some consideration was given as to the advisability of a Carlist alliance. The Don Carlos of the Civil War period had renounced his claims in favour of his son, Charles Louis, who came forward with a conciliatory manifesto, promising a rule in accordance with the spirit of the times. Though Metternich favoured the project, it was not so with any important section of the Spanish people. They regarded the effusion as a mere device; the recollections, moreover, of the terrible contest, the hatreds engendered were still alive: plainly the position of King-Consort was too important to be held by the new head of the exiled family.

Two other competitors were the sons of Carlotta, Christina's sister, Francisco and Henry, Dukes respectively of Cadiz and

Seville. The sisters, however, at one time most cordial in their friendship, were now in a state of deadly enmity. As to the sons: Francisco was a puny, feeble creature, the laughing-stock of the Court from his want of manly attributes: Henry was of a restless, turbulent nature, by avowal an advanced Progressist, a thorn in the side of the Government, whose anger he further stirred up about this time by attempting a hostile demonstration from the man-of-war he was in command of at Vigo. The British Court advanced as a candidate Leopold of Saxe Coburg, cousin to Queen Victoria and brother to Ferdinand, King-Consort in Portugal; hence an additional cause of discord to British and French parties at Madrid, who abetted respectively Progressists and Moderates.

The amicable relations, however, existing between the rulers of Great Britain and France conduced to an agreement, rendered easier by the death of Carlotta. Isabella was to marry the Duke of Cadiz, and her sister the Duke of Montpensier; but, as some bar to the political influences, and perhaps dynastic developments, likely to result should a French Prince become King-Consort in Spain, it was stipulated that, until Isabella had issue, the marriage of the younger sister was not to take place. Now Christina and the French party were playing their cards, to some extent, on the contingency that the Duke of Cadiz was physically incapable of becoming a father. Not only this, there was a well-grounded opinion, supported by medical authority, that the Queen was unlikely to bear children. Hence, to the above stipulation there arose a most determined opposition. At this juncture—July, 1846—Lord Palmerston became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in a Liberal Cabinet. Fears aroused by this and a threatened renewal of the Coburg candidature, which had been suffered to lapse, impelled the French Court to a plain breach of faith. At its insistence both marriages were celebrated on the same day—October 10th. We may here note that Louis Philippe, who throughout the schemings had frequently expressed an anxiety as to the chances of Isabella being able to retain her crown, lost his own less than eighteen months after the marriages; at the same time that the exultant party in Spain, essentially a courtly one, found that all the benefits which were to follow their triumph must be obtained from Republican France.

Little or no consideration had been given to the inclinations or happiness in the future of the Queen, who now became a bride just as she was entering her seventeenth year. Her

education had been altogether neglected, as far as Christina was responsible for it; purposely so, say the enemies of the latter, in order that she herself might retain as long as possible the power she loved so well. This did not prevent the mother's superstitions, mysticism, and fear of offending Rome becoming engrafted upon the girl's mind. Wilfulness and capriciousness were early noticed to be traits in her nature, as she scampered uncontrolled through the royal palaces. Unfortunately all these tendencies, together with a spirit of levity, developed with additional years into very damaging characteristics, and showed themselves even when she was finding herself confronted with the gravest State dangers. On the other hand her kindness, sympathy, and benevolence, as well as her fearlessness in moments of peril, made a ready appeal to the quick hearts of her subjects.

Her Consort, who enjoyed the title of King, was little enough likely to exercise a guiding hand. His ideas were those of the extreme Court party; possibly he might even have considered it a religious duty to attend an *auto-da-fé*. Tortuous inclinations and a narrow understanding led him to believe himself a Machiavelli, resulting in his busying himself, if in a harmless sort of way, with the intrigues of all parties alike. It is said that when marriage with him was suggested to the Queen, she replied that she would first like to be assured that he was a man. There had certainly been no mutual attachment; estrangement followed, and they were soon living apart. In May, when the Queen and Court went to La Granja, he betook himself to El Pardo; the matter became a public one and the Press took it up, while ministers in vain attempted a reconciliation. Nor was the populace slow in manifesting its disapproval; for the air was full of rumours of a royal lover—of the first, in fact, of all those scandals which had so much to do with Isabella's humiliating exit from Spain. Even Queen Christina showed her displeasure by withdrawing to France.

Meantime, several Cabinets had been formed and had disappeared. After Narvaez came Miraflores, then Narvaez again, followed by Isturiz and he by Sotomayor—where we may pause to notice the haphazard way in which the Government was conducted. Serrano, a personal favourite of the Queen, really held the reins—a matter, naturally, of much vexation to the ministers, who thought to get rid of him by the offer of an appointment which would remove him from the capital. He declined it, alleging as one of his reasons the fact that he was a Senator. The Cabinet now determined upon a form of im-

peachment; at which juncture the Queen, simply of her own free will, dismissed the ministers, some of whom received the first intimation of the fact by hearing it cried by the newspaper boys in the streets. Cabinets, headed by Pacheco and Goyena, also came and went within the year following the royal marriages. During this period there was an attempt to form a party which became known as the Puritans—a body of men of some repute, who, while boldly protesting against the despotic tendencies of the times, raised their voices in favour of a strictly Constitutional monarchy. It was made up of both Liberals and Moderates, but had a mere passing existence. Serrano, the favourite, it is to be noted, was a Progressist; hence his party, after a period of political extinction, was able to obtain some sixty seats in the Chamber which assembled on the last day of 1846, at the same time that several Senators belonging to it were admitted. An amnesty included Espartero, and many prominent Carlists were permitted to return from exile. Nevertheless, the main current was running towards absolutism.

In October, 1847, Narvaez succeeded to power. With a pitiless hand he brought within bounds open insurgents and conspiring factions alike. The Court no less winced in his domineering presence. Serrano was sent away, as well as another, a humbler, admirer of the Queen, a singer named Mirall. Salamanca, who had exercised great weight in the two last Ministries, was impeached for corruptness in the finance department. The Queen and her Consort were reconciled; Christina returned to a palace considerably purified. In the following year the British ambassador, Bulwer, acting altogether tactlessly in carrying out Palmerston's high-handed policy of interference in the internal affairs of the country, received his passports.

The French Revolution of 1848 burst forth. Would Spain serve as a rallying-ground to the exiled Royalists? Would the general outbreak of republicanism spread its contagion over the Peninsula? Both of these fears—most dismaying on the first news arriving—proved groundless, or nearly so. Certainly the Carlists were soon stirring themselves in Catalonia, as well as in the Basque Provinces, and old Cabrera hurried from London to place himself at their head. Their gatherings, however, were meagre and half-hearted, while the proclamations their leader issued might, as to their political propaganda, have been copied from some of the old opposing Liberal effu-

sions of the period of the great war. Carlism plainly could not at this juncture be aroused. As to the Republicans, it was scarcely to be expected that they would not, at such a moment, raise their war-cry. Several of their bands were soon in motion in the east of the country, where city mobs frequently shouted for a Junta to take the place of the Queen and her Court. There was more than one somewhat alarming manifestation of military disaffection in the capital; but all these ebullitions proved merely sporadic, and a judicious amnesty rendered a quieting down easy.

A welcome change to Catholic Spain, stirring it with emotions of pride, was the part it played in Italian affairs during this same revolutionary period. The insurrections of 1848 had driven Pius IX. from Rome; in the following year Spain contributed a contingent, about nine thousand strong, towards re-establishing the fugitive in power. After co-operating in the capture of Terracina, Spanish troops had the honour at Gaeta of passing in review under the eyes of His Holiness, who had sought refuge in that stronghold. The force remained some two years in the country, and though its sphere of action was limited to the demolition of a few forts and assisting in the general work of restoring tranquillity, there remained the prestige of having been associated in those duties with France and Austria.

In October, 1849, the rule of Narvaez was broken by an incident, ludicrous and needless to relate, except for the light it throws upon the ways and imaginings of the Court circle. The King Consort had been invested with the governorship of the palace, in which position there had gathered about him a Jesuitical knot of ultramontane priests and others, weak-headed as himself. It was self-evident, they agreed, that the present system was not sufficiently their own. A plot was hatched. Narvaez and the rest of the Cabinet were to be suddenly thrown overboard, and their places taken by a body of sterling Monarchists. The Queen acquiesced, partly from umbrage at the martinet bearing of her chief minister, partly in pure capriciousness. The deed was done: the change effected. Narvaez, staggered for a moment, promptly throttled the conspiracy, and this "lightning" Cabinet, as it was fitly nicknamed, vanished after a twenty-four hours' existence. With it disappeared the King's confessor, Father Fulgencio, and the miracle-working nun, Sister Patrocinio. By the same forcible authority the King was deprived of his governorship.

Narvaez maintained until early in 1850 this tenure of power, a period of more than two years of progress and comparative quiet, though attained by unconstitutional methods. The Court in the end found his presence and dictatorial ways unbearable. Bravo Murillo, who followed, was at the head of changing Cabinets for nearly three years ; though the absence at first of agitations may be attributed, in no small degree, to a diversion of the ideas and aims of the people of all classes, consequent on the introduction of railways and other speculative public works. Still, as the Government continued to assume a prerogative higher and higher, and the Court to give rise to scandals, so inevitably were inflammable materials in course of storage.

Early in 1852 a startling incident also exercised a staying hand in favour of the throne. Isabella, after some disappointments in giving a successor to the Crown, was now the mother of a child that seemed likely to live. The infant Princess was being carried in church, in pompous procession, during the ceremony of Purification, when suddenly a priest named Merino stepped from the crowd and stabbed the Queen. Fortunately her bodice diverted the course of a well-aimed dagger, which nevertheless penetrated her side. Her first motherly impulse for the safety of the child, as she recovered consciousness, and her brave bearing generally, witnessed thus publicly, turned towards her a current of popularity which she was beginning to be sorely in need of.

Nevertheless, Madrid was soon again murmuring that the Court was as shameless as in the days of Godoy ; and, what must inevitably lead to some catastrophe, that the courtiers and others who, through their personal favour with Isabella, were interfering in State affairs, continued frequently to be men of no political knowledge whatever. More outspoken still were the clamours against the Queen-mother, who was accused, with a fair foundation of truth, of making use of her position to enrich herself and her large second family by stock-jobbing and the grants of railway concessions. She was charged indeed with helping herself direct from the public treasury. Regardless of the threatening storm, a series of measures were announced of a most reactionary nature. There is no doubt that Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and the subsequent events which had converted France from a republic to an empire, had fired at least some of the shallow imaginations of the palace party with a belief that the example only needed

imitation in order to prove successful. Before the actual explosion, in 1854, Cortes had been assembled merely to be prorogued : complaisant Ministries had continuously abetted a Government by Royal Decrees, one of which gave the country the Budget in its entirety.

It was in the Senate, usually inactive or ready to follow a lead, that the impulses of a really aroused opposition commenced. Here the members were incensed at certain high-handed changes in their composition, as well as at some dismissals from official appointments. Attacks were directed against the manner, beyond doubt scandalous, in which the railway concessions had been granted. Debates waxed hot, and there were outspoken references to the Royal Family. The defence fell to Sartorius, who, after short-lived Ministries under Alcoy and Lersundi, was now at the head of an obdurate Cabinet supported by little beyond the Court and its circle, which in sum consisted of a Queen alternately self-willed or guided by worthless favourites, a contemptible King-Consort and a fiery, grasping Queen-mother, with a husband as unpopular as herself, all surrounded by their separate Camarillas.

In the Lower Chamber the Moderates, now a party divided into various factions, were evidently prepared to make common cause with the Progressists, who were again there holding up their heads. But, towards the middle of 1854, the critical nature of the situation was spreading far beyond the domain of the Assembly. A gathering of grandees, Senators, capitalists, and men of letters had drawn the attention of the Government to the dangers which threatened it. The editors of journals, representing all shades of opinion, similarly combined to formulate a protest against the day after day violations of the Constitution ; and, all public criticism being stifled, there crept into existence a secret Press, which commented in full freedom on the private life of the Queen. She had quite lost her late sudden popularity ; in public she was received in silence : the after-dark crowds were anything but mute in regard to her. Yet all these ominous signs and sounds were but as to the blind and the deaf. The Court, indeed, thought to smother the smouldering disaffection by exiling to the Balearic Islands, and elsewhere, certain Generals known to be intriguing. Soon the rising spirit of turbulence had spread to the army, and in June, 1854, it developed into a military revolt at Madrid.

Of this the leading spirit was perhaps Leopold O'Donnell,

who, after distinguishing himself as a commander during the later stages of the Carlist War, had held the position of Captain-General of Cuba. The opening act was that General Dulce assembled the cavalry as if for a field day, and then marched them to Alcala, some twenty miles away, where they were joined by additional troops and by O'Donnell, who had frustrated the purpose of the Government to exile him with the other implicated Generals. A portion of the garrison which had remained faithful was, in a few days, despatched under General Blaser against the force in revolt. With this the singular position was brought about that O'Donnell had nearly all the cavalry, his adversary all the guns. A little management would perhaps have now led to a fraternisation. As it was a half-hearted action took place at Vicalvaro. The casualties were few: both forces retired: both commanders claimed a victory; and Blaser returned with his men to Madrid, to assert his success; while O'Donnell, after marching across the scene of the late contest, occupied Aranjuez, and at the end of the first week in July was in Manzanares.

Barcelona, Saragossa, and other places had readily proclaimed their approval of the movement; but Madrid seemed little disposed to open its gates merely to one more successful General of the moment. Hereupon O'Donnell issued a programme of his aims. These, in brief, were: The Throne less its present disreputable surroundings; a strict observance of the Constitution; amended regulations as to the Press and procedure at elections; local government; advancement in the public services to be by merit; the re-establishment of the National Militia. At this the revolutionary propensities of the capital broke loose. The militia anticipated events by parading the streets in a semi-equipped state. A deputation informed Isabella that her administration must be one proceeding from the people. Words which cannot be printed were flung at her. Shouts arose for an overthrow of the whole dynasty: for the Braganzas in place of the Bourbons. Arana, the favourite of the hour, fled; the little heiress to the throne was dubbed La Aranuela. The Court was a scene of the most hopeless confusion and dismay. It had deliberately gone to sleep upon a volcano, yet was horror-stricken at awakening amidst ashes and flames: it was ready now to promise anything demanded. From the mobs, however, surging in the streets came one cry high above the others. An example must be made of the Queen-mother; she must be brought to trial, disgraced, and

compelled to disgorge her ill-gotten riches. To deeds from menaces the steps were quick. Her palace was broken into; all her goods and chattels were thrown out of the windows and burnt in the streets. The residences of the obnoxious ministers met with a like fate.

Meanwhile a Junta of Safety had sprung into existence: it injudiciously supplied arms from the public arsenal to the militiamen, who passed them on to their friends or sold them. The prisons were opened. In the street fighting which ensued about a hundred were killed, and perhaps four times that number wounded. A complete revolution had by the end of a month been effected. The ministers, of course, had vanished. Politicians and men of standing, of every class, had thrown in their lot with the people, in a general exasperation against a corrupt and profligate Court. Now proceeded apace the process of reversal. The Junta, the Queen approving, suppressed both the Senate and the Royal Council; an invitation to return was despatched to the exiled Generals; local governing bodies resumed their sittings; the amplest of pardons were granted to all concerned in the late tumults. One royal proclamation, indeed, published what was tantamount to an apology to the whole nation from the Queen for errors committed, with assurances that there would be no repetitions of them. All the great provincial towns seconded the capital. A force under Blaser which had been despatched against O'Donnell's fraternised with it.

Throughout these commotions, the Court in its terror, the army and the masses had frequently turned their thoughts towards Espartero. He was, in short, in his absence, placed at the head of a Cabinet yet to be formed. He showed little eagerness for the dignity, though he soon proceeded to Madrid, which he entered on July 29th, the same day as O'Donnell, scarcely less popular owing to his successful procedure in the south. The former, without a portfolio, was placed at the head of a Progressist Cabinet, in which the latter became War Minister. A first great difficulty was as to Queen Christina. Amongst the lower orders there was an outcry, as clamorous as ever, for her degradation and humiliation. Her departure for Portugal was, however, connived at, while a Ministerial Decree appeared in the *Gazette* confiscating her goods, stopping her pension, and forbidding her the country.

After a beneficial sweeping of the palace, a change of Court officials, and the announcement that Constituent Cortes would

be assembled, the country quickly enough subsided into quietude. Political groupings, however, assumed a fresh aspect: a new party came into existence. Of the Moderates a large number had favoured the late rising, leaving, of course, a section of irreconcilables, for the moment discredited. The former now combined with the least advanced of the Progressists and formed "La Union Liberal." O'Donnell was at the head of this party. Naturally the late ferments had brought the democratic element into prominence, and it was represented by twenty-three members in the Cortes which assembled in November, 1854. Hence the parties now ran from right to left—Old Moderates, Unionists, Old Progressists, Republicans.

The year 1855 was devoted to Constitution-building. Of the new structure, however, the basements only were destined to be erected. Once more a preamble gave precedence to the Sovereignty of the People. A Senate, with members nominated for life by the Crown, was to have place. The Deputies to the Lower Chamber, chosen at the rate of one for every fifty thousand of the populace, were to hold their seats for three years. It was, in brief, a Liberal Constitution not unlike that of 1837; but, as a counter-revolution caused it to die almost unborn, it need not further be detailed. While a Commission sat to elaborate it, genuine progress was made with the sales, so often decreed, of certain State properties, and those of the religious communities.

We have seen the Liberals continuously since 1812 striving to this end, while the Crown, whenever it felt itself strong enough, either directly undid their work, or by a thwarting process rendered nugatory the Acts which were passed. Now the death-knell of mortmain was actually sounding; though to the clerical sales Isabella obstinately refused her sanction. Her soul, she maintained, was irretrievably lost if she assented to such a sacrilege. She even threatened to abdicate; and it was only after prolonged persuasions and many animated scenes that her signature was finally given. Of the institutions here in question it may be affirmed that as a rule they were unproductively administered, in many cases grossly mismanaged. Most of the religious houses busied themselves with works of charity; in a very few instances only they gave rise to scandals.

By the autumn such a division of parties was setting in that it seemed improbable that the Constitution would ever be voted. Espartero temporised, lost himself in the turmoil, and was month by month becoming more and more a mere figure-head.

Still he was trusted, while the ambitious, calculating O'Donnell was suspected. It was generally believed that the latter had plunged into the revolution of the previous year from no other impulse than an eagerness for personal ascendancy. The two statesmen were in truth an ill-assorted couple, and it is strange that the union held as long as it did. Isabella saw plainly that Espartero, however little statecraft he might possess, would allow no infraction of those rights and liberties which the nation had lately so forcibly asserted. O'Donnell might possibly prove less inflexible. The Church Alienation Acts, just alluded to, were as abhorrent as ever. During the first half of 1856, accordingly, all her arts were exercised towards winning him over.

In this scheme of superseding Espartero by O'Donnell there was no lack close at hand of willing, helping minds. Again was in motion the palace machinery of reaction. But the actual change was effected by a contemptible sort of three-card trick, with the Queen acting as sharper. The rival leaders were at variance as to certain repressive measures to be taken in regard to the militia and the Press. Escosura was the minister responsible for the carrying out of the latter, and O'Donnell had suggested that, as they could not come to an agreement, they had better both quit the Cabinet. Espartero had, however, declared that he would stay or fall with his colleague, Escosura, who had throughout expressed himself ready to ease the situation by retiring. Matters standing so, ministers carried the controversy to the presence of the Queen, who had requested this, who knew exactly what was in progress, and had quite lately declared to Espartero that, if ever she had to make her choice between him and O'Donnell, he might rest assured as to who would be preferred. At the palace, Escosura, finding that the Queen was against him, again requested permission to resign. On this Espartero announced that he was bound to do likewise: whereupon the Queen, turning to O'Donnell, exclaimed, "You, General, will surely not also abandon me!" In this way, in July, 1856, had its rise the first Liberal Union Cabinet.

That the plot was in part prearranged is clear enough from the fact that O'Donnell had ready at hand, for the Queen's signature, his new Ministry of a coalition type. A tacit sanction to this underhand stroke was readily enough accorded by certain classes. For the Alienation Laws, affecting Church, State, many municipal and charitable institutions, had necessarily a variety of opponents. Moreover, Ultras and Carlists had been

scheming, and spending their money freely, towards creating a political confusion by which they hoped to profit. There had been Republican outbursts, also some labour riots consequent on the introduction of machinery. Hence the discarding of Espartero by public opinion, as a somewhat dangerous element in the situation, may be understood. Nevertheless, in Madrid the change was the signal for the National Militia to turn out and occupy all the principal thoroughfares. Energetic leaders were, however, not forthcoming: the regular troops stood firm, and with merciless volleys and shell-fire swept down all opposition. No less feeble was the resistance of the Cortes, convoked by their Permanent Committee. Under one hundred members were able or willing to assemble: of these, eighty-one despatched to the palace a vote of want of confidence in the new Ministry. It was ignored; in fact, the gates were shut to the envoys. At a later sitting there were present only thirty-seven Deputies, who dispersed while the combat still raged in the streets. The provinces acted much as the capital; though the conflict was not brought to a close, in Barcelona, until some five hundred casualties had occurred. In the train of this counter-revolution of 1856, which, of course, wrung the neck of the just hatched Constitution, followed the disbandment of the militia, a curtailment of municipal action and of Press freedom, a suspension of the procedure in regard to Church property, a strengthening of the Concordat with Rome, and a re-establishment of the Royal Council.

All of these are not to be laid to the charge of O'Donnell; in fact, his Ministry, after a three months' tenure of office, fell chiefly because he was averse to proceeding to the lengths which the Queen wished in regard to staying the mortmain sales. His project of present governmental procedure, given effect to by Royal Decree of September 15, 1856, was to put in force the restraining Code of 1845; but having attached to it a modifying supplement, an "Acta Adicionale," embodying many of the intentions of the abortive Constitution discussed throughout 1855. As these ran counter to the aims and inclinations of the Queen, she was not long in determining to have a more sympathetic Cabinet. O'Donnell was dismissed, and by a childish display of wilfulness. At a ball, she manifested towards Narvaez so marked a partiality, in which the Spanish glance and fan played their full share, that the slighted minister had no choice but to efface himself.

Narvaez was in power for about a year. One of his first acts

was to free the Constitution of 1845, now in force, of all its lately introduced Liberal clauses. After this the hands of the clock were turned back apace. Though his Moderate Cortes were at first servile enough, non-content groups were after a while in process of formation, supported by a very justifiable clamour on the part of the Press. His retirement was quickened by the severity with which he thought fit to stamp out some insurrectionary movements, though the procedure had the approval of the Court itself. After uneventful Ministries headed by Armero and Isturiz, again O'Donnell was called upon, in June, 1858, to form a Cabinet. This he filled with his adherents amongst the Liberal Union party. He certainly, where his predecessors had failed, gained an important success: he effected a compromise regarding the ever jarring question as to the sale of Church property. The State, in short, became the possessor, while to the clergy were assured fixed stipends, upon a liberal scale, chargeable to the revenue. The Vatican, the Ultramontane party, Moderates, and Progressists were appeased.

But now political jealousies, clerical intrigues, and Court scandals began to have a secondary place in the minds of all. Spain was in a ferment of enthusiasm regarding an expedition about to leave her shores. A campaign in Morocco was being entered upon. At this time—1859—Spain possessed upon the African coast merely Ceuta and three or four other eastward-lying stations, used chiefly as convict establishments. Against the outposts from the above town the tribesmen in the vicinity had, during the summer, committed a series of aggressions. Reparation was demanded, but of an extravagant nature, so much so that it seemed as if Spain was determined to force matters to a rupture. At all events, in October she declared war, and by the end of the following month a large portion of the forty-five thousand men, detailed to form a punitive expedition, had been shipped to the African coast. Here Ceuta naturally became a base of operations: Tetuan was decided upon as a first objective. O'Donnell was appointed to the command, having under him Prim. An eager enthusiasm, an almost Crusader-like feeling animated officers and men; yet the adventure bore a hazardous aspect, for the scene of it must lie amidst the mountainous tracts of an almost unknown country. The reckless spirit of fanaticism in which the Moors were known to fight under their sacred standards would in all probability be fiercely

developed. Victory, in short, was not likely to fall to the Spanish arms more readily than the French had obtained it in the adjacent Algerian territory. Moreover, in the forces now gathering together around Ceuta there was no experience of Arab warfare.

Much, too, would depend on the weather. This northern coast-land of Morocco, if often in winter over-arched by cloudless skies, may on the other hand be swept, week upon week, by furious gales and rain. Unfortunately the latter now prevailed, with a consequence that there was much sickness in the camps, where soon that terrible scourge cholera began to seize upon its victims. After a period of preparation and repelling desultory attacks, the early dawn of the new year, 1860, saw the delayed advance towards Tetuan actually commencing in earnest. The later part of the day found the leading Spanish corps undergoing its first serious experience of savage warfare; by evening the heights, which formed the object of this preliminary contest, were in full possession of the invaders. But the end of a week came round to them in a not much better position as to progress, and a decidedly worse plight as a fighting force. A fearful tempest, accompanied by lightning and thunder, had assailed them. To advance was impossible, for the vessels which were co-operating with the movement, and which contained many necessary daily supplies, had been obliged to fly from so perilous a coast: communication behind with Ceuta had been cut off, and many fresh cases of cholera had occurred. Fortunately, during this collapse, the enemy gave no signs of activity. A week later the advanced guard caught sight of the white walls, the minarets, and the orange groves of Tetuan. Equally acceptable was the fact that a valuable addition was here made to the strength of the force by the disembarkation of another division direct from Spain, under General Diego.

The 4th of February disclosed O'Donnell's army formed up for a general attack on the Moorish position, which consisted in part of the elevated site occupied by Tetuan itself, in part of an entrenched camp in front of it. A chill, rainy morning was succeeded by a day of brightness, with a sun lighting up the confronting towers and walls, the interspersed trees, the strand beneath, the snow-covered peaks hanging high above all. Some two hours of continuous artillery fire sufficiently weakened the defence to admit of a general advance, which, after some fierce and stubborn hand-to-hand fighting, swept everything before it.

The Emperor's brother, his Commander-in-Chief, fled, the army dispersed, leaving its dead, a few standards, some cannon, and hundreds of tents, upon the scene of action outside the walls. Two days later the town surrendered, and shortly afterwards envoys arrived inquiring concerning the victors' terms. As these were somewhat arrogantly high, O'Donnell thought to enforce them by striking a blow at Tangier, and had in fact put his forces in motion and fought a successful engagement in that direction, before a final suspension of arms took place. A peace treaty signed in April resulted in Spain, partly owing to the intervention of Great Britain, having to content herself with a war indemnity and certain small concessions of territory around Ceuta.

This war was but one of a series of over-seas expeditions in which Spain found herself engaged during the following six years. Already, in 1858, she had joined France in punitive measures against Annam, where, in addition to a succession of outrages upon Christian converts, two Spanish bishops had been murdered. As happens so often in operations under a tropical sun, the climate proved itself the most formidable enemy. The Annamese, however, were not without courageous traits, and showed no small dexterity in applying their always available bamboo-trees towards strengthening entrenchments and other field works. Though their important town, Saigon, was soon captured and they were readily defeated wherever encountered in the open, the war prolonged itself through 1859 as well as the following year. In 1861 the Spanish contingent had reduced itself to a mere couple of hundred men, so that it becomes unnecessary to say more of the operations than that, while they led to the French laying the foundations of a considerable increase to their colonial possessions, Spain had here again to content herself with an indemnity.

Of these collisions with foreign countries into which Spain was drawn, and which to some extent ran their course concurrently during the last ten years of Isabella's reign, the next to be spoken of is the despatch of a force to Mexico. Here, since its emancipation from the mother country, political strife, anarchy, and confusion had been the rule. Taking up affairs in 1860, we have a civil war in progress between Juarez and Miramon, rival claimants to the Presidency of the Republic. As regards Spain there had been, ever since the colony obtained its freedom, a state of tension, one chief cause of which was that many Spanish subjects, holders of the Mexican Govern-

ment's securities, had failed to receive their dividends. Cases, moreover, had occurred of arbitrary taxations of capital, and where the persons and property of suspected Spaniards had been seized. Some astounding financial ventures of Jecker, a banker in collusion with the Government, further embittered matters. In January, 1861, the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador from Mexico placed the two countries in a state of active hostility, for which, however, the whole blame cannot be attributed to the Republic.

Great Britain and France had also subjects similarly claiming redress for financial breaches of faith, and for outrages some of which extended to their official representatives. In 1861 Mexico suspended payment altogether in regard to foreigners, and in October of that year the two Powers first mentioned, together with Spain, entered upon an agreement as to intervention. Great Britain alone set about the undertaking with honesty of purpose. France, it was soon revealed, aimed at raising the Archduke Maximilian to the throne of the country as its Emperor. Spain had schemes in the background of bestowing a monarchy upon one of her own princes; while Prim, who commanded the forces despatched by his country, is generally credited with having had an eye to a dictatorship, if not to the crown itself. Spain was certainly determined that she would play no subordinate part; from her base of operations at Havana, without waiting for the arrival of the allied contingents, she seized upon Vera Cruz in December, 1861.

British and French flotillas then appeared on the scene. But the invading Powers were not in agreement as to a common line of action; nor could they be, for the British Government stood aloof from all desire of attempting to direct the course of the internal administration of the country. Negotiations soon commenced. Meanwhile the Allies had encamped themselves in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, where much sickness prevailed, and whence the Spanish alone sent back eight hundred men invalided to Havana. There was no real difficulty as to coming to terms, and the more open unmasking of the venturesome schemes of the French Emperor was the signal for the other Powers to withdraw from the Mexican Gulf. Spain had indeed embarked upon this enterprise without much heed as to contingent embarrassments. It cost her about £80,000.

We now come to an event little expected by those conversant with the colonial history of Spain; we have a case of a people, escaped from the over-rule of that country, voluntarily returning

to it. This in the island known both as Haiti and San Domingo. We may search the whole globe over for another spot which has witnessed such a marvellous succession of events in so short a space of time. During those years, well within a century, between the French Revolution and the period here under consideration the island has experienced more political transformations than have fallen to many of the States of Europe during their entire existence. A mere list of notable occurrences would fill pages. Revolts and terrible massacres; a black race winning its independence; English, French, and Spaniards battling upon its soil, one of teeming productiveness; mulattoes and negroes at warfare or establishing republics; the whole government sometimes in the hands of one ruler, sometimes divided; now and again a negro setting himself up as Emperor or King—the island, after experiencing all these and other freaks of fortune, was in 1861 divided into the Republics of Haiti and San Domingo. The Presidency of the latter had some years before been usurped by Santana, who, now threatened by the sister Republic as well as from other quarters, trusted to find a happy issue from his troubles in offering Spain a protectorate over his portion of the island. Actuated by divers motives, a strong and influential Spanish community, chiefly in the capital, promised to give him their support. In March, 1861, Isabella was duly proclaimed Sovereign.

Spain despatched troops to the scene, as she could readily do from her neighbouring islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. But it was not long in becoming apparent that neither Santana, who had been appointed Governor-General, nor the bulk of the inhabitants, certainly not of those in the rural districts, were enthusiastic supporters of the new rule; especially as this proved to be Spanish at about its worst. A sullen indifference changed to murmurings, particularly against the high-handed, overbearing demeanour of the officers of the lately arrived forces. Though it was quickly known, in official circles at Madrid, that the offer of the island had been made merely as a choice between evils, the old fatal colonial system of riding roughshod over the inhabitants was proceeded with. Additional regiments were landed, but only to find that a thoroughly insurrectional spirit was abroad, and that guerrilla bands were everywhere on the increase. At the end of about a couple of years—that is to say, by the spring of 1863—the whole country was in the throes of a full revolution. After another six months or so of desultory warfare, the Spaniards had lost some ten

thousand men, chiefly from disease, and held possession of little else but Santiago, the capital. Early in 1864, however, the Spanish forces, under an able and energetic commander, Gandara, began to achieve a series of successes, and soon appeared to have the insurgent population entirely at their mercy. Judicious conciliatory measures might perhaps, at this juncture, have effected the retention of the island. Instead, an unconditional surrender was demanded. It was refused; for all those who were in any way compromised knew what this meant. Then the fortune of war changed altogether to the side of the San Dominicans; but by this time a general feeling was making progress in Spain in favour of abandoning the whole enterprise. The Cortes, after some stormy debates, voted for evacuation, and the order giving effect to it arrived in the island in May, 1865.

In the foregoing cases Spain could not, perhaps, have easily avoided finding herself involved in hostilities; the same cannot be said of the conflicts she entered upon in 1864 against Peru and Chile. The separation of these from the mother country had left behind vexations and antipathies, but little softened by time. For many years Spain had refused to recognise officially the independence of Peru; when she did so, the language used was far from courteous. We have seen, too, how she hurriedly took the initiative, amongst the Allies, in a descent upon the Mexican coast at the end of 1861; the same year that witnessed her despatching troops to occupy San Domingo. These expeditions might well appear the prelude to a general policy of reacquisition by Spain of her lost colonies. A distinct feeling of alarm was aroused. Peru protested officially against the annexation of San Domingo. Many public demonstrations against European aggression took place in various South American cities, where French and Spanish residents were frequently insulted. Subscription lists were opened in aid of Mexicans wounded in fighting against the Allies. A proposal was brought forward with a view to confederate the Latin-American Republics in a defensive union. It must be remembered that during this very period—1861–64—the United States, by reason of their own vast civil conflict, were prevented from coming to the aid of these neighbouring Republics.

In regard to Peru, in 1864, charges against her were formulated by Spain of non-fulfilment of a treaty of 1853 and of the non-payment of indemnities, also of ill-treating Spanish subjects and a want of official courtesy. There was little enough of the

latter on either side; and if in the other charges there were grounds for complaint, they were all open to peaceful solutions, more especially since Pezet, the President of the Republic, had already in complications with other countries shown himself anxious always to come to terms. But Spain, as well as her Admiral upon the Peruvian coast-land, showed an insolent determination to ignore all the changes effected by forty years of severance. A special envoy, Mazaredo, was sent to Peru to treat concerning the questions at issue; yet Spain was so tactless, or so intent upon a further embitterment of the situation, that Mazaredo had assigned to him the title of Royal Commissary, and was thus given a position and standing pertaining to the old colonial days. Such pretensions the Peruvian Government declined to recognise; whereupon the envoy quitted the capital, repaired to the Spanish squadron which was at hand, and with it, on April 14, 1864, made a descent upon and occupied the Chincha Islands, of great value to the Republic as the chief seat of the guano trade.

The national indignation rose at once to boiling-point; nor was it likely to cool down when it was seen that Mazaredo, in referring to the seizure of the islands, had spoken officially of the act as one of "*reivindicacion*" (legal restitution), and when it was known that he was proclaiming that, between the two countries, a mere truce had existed since 1824, and that the hostilities then suspended were now about to recommence. All classes demonstrated themselves eager for the conflict. Public bodies, educational establishments, workmen's associations expressed their willingness to provide funds. Congress authorised a loan for increasing the strength of the army and navy. From their pulpits the clergy stimulated the prevailing fervour. The other South American Republics testified no small readiness to take part in the hostilities. Pezet was, however, averse to committing his country to war; on his own responsibility he made overtures to Spain, where, indeed, the action of her envoy was acknowledged to have been precipitate. Pinzon, the over-presumptuous Admiral in command, was superseded by Pareja; the preliminaries towards a peaceful settlement were entered upon, though the Madrid Government declared its intention of retaining possession of the Chinchas until its demands should be satisfied. Finally, Pezet, influenced partly by a threat of the Spanish Admiral that Callao would be bombarded, effected, in January, 1865, a direct arrangement which included the payment by the

Republic of £600,000, as a compensation for warlike expenditure.

This action of the President, as a matter of fact, unseated him and caused a revolution. With this we are not concerned. Pareja had by menaces gained his end; after a while we find him intent, by similar means, on asserting himself against Chile. Certainly the latter republic had taken the lead in the demonstrations against Spain; had, in fact, shown herself more bellicose even than Peru. A somewhat minatory decree was passed by the Lower Chamber; a large increase in naval expenditure was voted; a number of volunteers were despatched; and, while Peruvian matters were as yet unadjusted, Chile had refused all along her coast-line to supply the Spanish squadron with coal. Still, here too a pacific President, Perez, and the laudable efforts of Tavira, the representative of Spain, were able to avert war. In May, 1865, it seemed as if the affairs in dispute admitted of an amicable settlement. But now the Home Government disavowed the action of Tavira: he was recalled, and in September Pareja with his Spanish squadron appeared off Valparaiso. An ultimatum was presented to the Chilian Government. It included demands that the hoisting of the Spanish flag was to be honoured by a salute of twenty-one guns; that a compensation in money must be made for withholding coal from the warships; and that satisfying explanations must be despatched to Madrid by a special envoy.

Chile refused to accept any such terms. War, in short, was declared; yet, beyond an ineffective blockade and the seizure of some Chilian merchantmen, hostilities stagnated, while certain of the European Powers essayed to mediate. In November, however, a small Chilian war vessel captured a Spanish one, after a short engagement. This was followed by the suicide of Admiral Pareja, and in January, 1866, by an offensive and defensive alliance between Chile and Peru. Early in the following month took place the only naval encounter: a small affair, in which two Spanish men-of-war attacked the allied squadron, consisting of six smaller vessels protected by some batteries in the Strait of Abtao. At the end of two hours the Spaniards retired unsuccessful from the scene.

Close upon this was perpetrated an act which drew upon Spain the just indignation of the civilised world. On the last day of March Pareja's successor, Nunez, bombarded Valparaiso,

an open and unprotected town. Having inflicted a vast amount of damage on public and private property, he appeared before Callao, on the 25th of the following month, intent upon a similar devastating onslaught. Here, however, Armstrong guns in the batteries and monitors in the harbour gave a different complexion to affairs. Though about a thousand of the inhabitants were killed by a bombardment which took place on the 2nd of May, the defence retaliated by putting one of the Spanish vessels out of action, and seriously damaging two others. Nunez admitted casualties amounting to a couple of hundred: there were probably more. At all events, he made no attempt to renew his attack, and ten days later steamed out of sight of the town. Notwithstanding that a regular peace was not established for several years, this practically concluded a state of hostility which, if partly the fault of the Republics, might seemingly have been avoided, without loss of national honour, had Spain adopted a less persistently aggressive demeanour.

Just as the Morocco War was drawing to a close Carlist affairs for a brief period, in April, 1860, attracted a sudden attention. Carlos, Count of Montemolin, eldest son of the former claimant, in company with his brother Ferdinand, suddenly landed upon the east coast of Spain, near the mouth of the Ebro. This attempt to seize power, the outcome of a conspiracy with many ramifications, was made from the Balearic Islands under the military leadership of General Ortega, who there held the post of Captain-General. Seldom indeed has an enterprise so quickly converted itself into a complete fiasco. Ortega's men had been kept in ignorance as to their leader's aims. When he attempted to raise *vivas* for Don Carlos, they responded with shouts for the Queen. They not only flatly refused to obey him: as he fled the scene some of them fired at him. Shortly afterwards he was captured and shot. The Princes, after hiding for some days, were also taken: on, however, solemnly withdrawing all claims to the crown, they were merely escorted to the frontier; but, once clear of the country, they disavowed all they had promised. In this connection it is to be noted that, on the outbreak of hostilities with Morocco, the Basque Provinces had raised funds in aid of the expedition, and contributed to it their own special contingent.

The period of ten years commencing in 1859 with this war, if comparatively uneventful in the domestic annals of Spain, has a special importance as one of gravitation towards a complete

convulsion of the entire kingdom, including the flight of the Queen in 1868, then a change of dynasty, followed by the establishment of a republic. As far as Isabella and her Camarilla were concerned, as well as her ministers when she had them to her liking, these were years of determined political reaction, complicated by outbursts of wilfulness on her part, and by her frequently from mere caprice meddling in State affairs. A centralised autocratic power was made use of to give a free rein to clericalism, to curtail municipal privileges, and to stifle the Press. Mismanagement and confusion were rife in all the public services. Notwithstanding the large sums obtained by the sales of national property, the country's indebtedness increased considerably, though under this head the various foreign expeditions must be taken into account.

O'Donnell, with his Liberal Union ministries, altogether between 1858 and 1866, held the Premiership for a total of more than five and a half years. He must in this be credited with no small skill ; for he dominated the political situation arbitrarily, at the same time that he took for his motto "Queen and Cortes," while continuing to proclaim that his should be a party from which all extremists, reactionaries, and Radicals alike were to be excluded. Moreover, the revolution and counter-revolution, in which he had played so large a part, had raised up against him many irreconcilable enemies. So, too, the recognition of the kingdom of Italy, which took place under him. This had proved a constantly recurring State embarrassment: the horrible sacrilege, as many good Spaniards regarded it, of conniving at stripping the Holy Father of all his domains. A party, supported by the Court, demanded armed intervention, and many stormy debates took place in the Cortes upon the subject. O'Donnell's reputation, on the other hand, was enhanced by the African War, and he took advantage of the other expeditions to employ upon them men who might have proved dangerous at home. Thus, while public attention was directed to foreign affairs, his anti-Constitutional measures were put in force unchallenged, and frequently by the very members of the civil and military professions from whom he had much to fear, had he not adroitly induced them to take office under him. A considerable following too, trustworthy and patriotic, gathered around him with the object of preventing the direction of affairs falling into the hands of Narvaez.

In 1865 a State financial transaction brought the Queen under considerable public censure. With a great parade of

self-sacrificing generosity it was announced that she was prepared to hand over to the nation, to be sold or otherwise disposed of, a considerable amount of the Royal Patrimony. She, however, was to receive in cash, for her own private use, one-fourth of the total realised. Castelar, now in the early days of his career as an energetic and voluble writer, a fervid orator and ardent Republican, published in his paper a scathing article against the proposal. He declared the whole transaction to be a fradulent sham ; and, in common with a section of the Press, protested that the Queen had no right whatever to part with this Patrimony, which belonged to the Spanish nation and in which she had only a life interest. For this Castelar was expelled from his professorship at the Madrid University, an act which, as the students resented it, contributed to bring about some severe fighting in the streets, in April, when about thirty people were killed and two hundred wounded. As to this Royal Patrimony, the case seems to have been that its maintenance was, on the whole, an undesirable burden to the Queen, but that it enabled her to reward certain families deservedly, at the same time that she received from it some direct pecuniary benefits. Isabella was a much better adept at squandering money than at saving it.

But this, if a scandal, was the merest nothing compared with those of her private life. One of her favourites was Marfori, the son of an Italian pastrycook. Before the end of the reign he had become a marquis, Cabinet minister, and Governor of Madrid. While the outside public were murmuring that here was a state of affairs worse than in the days of Godoy, her example of lax morality found no want of imitators within the courtly circle. Her Camarilla included Patrocinio, the bleeding nun, with her pretended five wounds of the Cross ; also Fathers Claret and Cirilio ; not merely countenancing an ever increasing disrepute, but exercising their influence upon the Queen in regard to the nomination of ministers and other important State officials. Jesuits were observed to be everywhere more and more conspicuous. Ministers complained openly that Isabella, while retaining all the warm and charitable impulses of her nature, was not merely fickle and inconsequent ; her most solemn assurances were not always to be depended upon.

The demoralisation of the palace, the pernicious influences surrounding the Queen were, after awhile, alluded to in the Cortes. In addition to that smaller section of the people to whom the term democratic may be applied, suffering many of

them in purse and position under a tyrannizing rule, there was that much larger community, conservative by inclination, proud and loyal, who now felt acutely that their country was being degraded in the eyes of the world, and that the prime cause of this was to be found nowhere else but in the wearer of the crown. Secret societies were ever on the increase. Many of these no longer contented themselves with conspiring for Constitutional rights, or the liberty of the individual. A republic was solemnly demanded. Olozaga, in animating his party, an influential one, for action, was himself chiefly worked upon by personal hatred against Isabella. In 1863, during a short-lived Ministry of Miraflores, an order was issued tantamount to forbidding all non-voters from taking a part in electoral meetings. This, added to some arbitrary tamperings with the suffrage, led to the Progressists withdrawing bodily from open participation in public affairs. No candidates of the party were to be put forward for election. At the same time they welcomed within their ranks the democratic faction, against whom the measure was ostensibly directed, and thus inevitably began to find allies in all those wild extremist agitators who were shouting for the expulsion of the Bourbons and a millennium of all the liberties.

The minister who, next to O'Donnell, had most to do with the ruling of his country during its verging towards the Revolution of 1868 was Narvaez. He was at the helm for about two years and a half, seconding Isabella in her absolutist, ultramontane inclinations, and surely enough steering her fortunes towards shipwreck. Where O'Donnell had inserted the screw of oppression, Narvaez clinched it. Under his reactionary administrations the Press laws invariably had their severest application. In cases where newspaper matter had merely been submitted to the censorship, in view of its publication, and forbidden, the editor was liable to prosecution. Even the general tenor of a paper sufficed to frame a charge; and the fines were so high that journalism simply became an impossible calling. Foreign publications of liberal tendencies were invariably confiscated. Under Narvaez the Cortes were prorogued or dissolved altogether arbitrarily. It is calculated that he sent three thousand persons into exile. A protest signed by Rios Rosas, when President of the Lower House, was summarily stopped; he was then arrested and sent to the Canaries. Other Deputies shared the same fate.

If some equally coercive measures may have originated under O'Donnell, or during the brief premierships of Miraflores Arra-

zola, or Mon, between March, 1863, and September, 1864, the despotism of the period attained its highest during the twenty-one months' tenure of office by Narvaez, which terminated in the spring of 1868. A blight fell upon all higher education. Clericalism sought to establish itself supreme in the universities and schools. Literary societies, which met almost solely for the advancement of intellectual pursuits, were frequently suppressed as dangerous political bodies. A state of siege was always made use of to bring refractory civilians before courts-martial. The franchise was tampered with so as to heighten the money qualifications of voters. Magistrates were frequently deprived of office for no specified reason. The suppression of Municipal Councils, or their subjection to surprise visits by the police, ceased to give rise to animadversion. Political meetings were broken up at will. To the mayors, nominated by decree, was given the power of expatriating.

In thus summarising the causes, accumulating during ten years, of a revolution directed against a Sovereign and her persistently baneful administrations, we must keep in mind the results, in sum, of the foreign expeditions. A sorrowful balance of discontent was their legacy. The renown of defeating the Emperor of Morocco had been achieved at a loss of ten thousand men, if those who returned to Spain permanently crippled are included; correspondence, tending to show that the campaign need never have been undertaken, had at first been withheld from the public; the treaty was unpopular; national pride was acutely wounded at Great Britain having interfered to prevent any really advantageous acquisitions on the African coast. In Cochin China a force had been decimated in assisting the French to reap for themselves alone substantial territorial gains. San Domingo had proved a dismal and wasteful failure. Mexico had brought in its train the displeasure of the French Emperor, as well as accusations of subserviency to his aims. The operations in South America had evoked the strongest condemnations from both sides of the Atlantic. All these ventures had, notwithstanding the indemnities, proved costly, had opened the doors to much peculation, and led to deficits and disarrangements in the Budgets. Lastly, Italy, as a source of much heartburning, must not be forgotten.

Abroad and at home thus increased the numbers of malcontents, seceders, and conspirators. Conspicuous amongst the latter figured Prim, who, on account of the expeditions to Africa and Mexico, held an influential position in regard to the army.

But several causes combined to hold the bulk of the officers aloof from revolutionary agitators. However much they might share the prevailing opinion as to the Court and the Government, Isabella herself enjoyed amongst them a loyal popularity. The various campaigns fostered a military spirit, and gave a run of promotion : others might follow, for O'Donnell appeared to be taking the policy of the Second Empire as his model. Moreover, Prim made the false move of promising to abolish the conscription, a change in which the officers of the regular army, always a vividly jealous body as to anything in the shape of auxiliaries, saw a levelling of themselves with the popular forces which it was proposed to constitute. Nevertheless, Prim, in 1864, and in each of the two following years, ventured to bring about military outbreaks. That of June, 1866, took the form of a revolt of the sergeants of the artillery in Madrid, directed against their officers, many of whom were murdered. There was some extension to the other corps in garrison; but O'Donnell, aided by Serrano, energetically and ruthlessly shattered the attempt. Of the mutineers two hundred were killed, of the troops employed against them more than double that number.

O'Donnell went to his grave in November, 1867. When, in April, 1868, Narvaez, at that time Prime Minister, also died after a very brief illness, the Premiership fell to Gonzalez Bravo, a member of the Cabinet. In this Marfori had and continued to have a seat. Plainly by that time any chance spark might cause an explosion of all the accumulating combustible materials. Yet the new head of affairs, formerly, as already noticed, a turbulent demagogue and factious journalist, was absolutely wanting in the qualities necessary to steady a nation chafing under a vicious misrule, which was affecting finance, commerce, agriculture, and labour alike. Beyond a readiness to take his stand in defence of Queen and Court, he worked upon no determinate lines whatever. His few measures were of a violent and erratic nature; moreover, as a civilian, he was necessarily weak where O'Donnell and Narvaez had been sure of support. What had been hurtful and oppressive under the former, and more so as well as reactionary under the latter, was intensified under Gonzalez Bravo. Singularly, no attempt seems to have been made to feel the pulse of the army and navy, or, by methods only too well known in the country, to canvass their allegiance. Instead, in July, Serrano, Dulce, and several other distinguished Generals were suddenly arrested and shipped off

to the Canary Islands. No doubt they were plotting; but a weak Government, by the measure, merely added further to its unpopularity. How discredited the Cortes had become was seen when they closed in May: many members were habitual absentees: their servility had become despicable.

About the same time that the Generals were banished, Montpensier and his wife shared the same fate. His whole procedure in regard to his sister-in-law is not clear: he seems to have stood by her loyally enough until it was evident that she must abdicate: he then, in the hope that the crown would fall to himself or his wife, threw in his lot with those who were driving her from the kingdom. At an earlier period he had certainly pointed out earnestly to Isabella the abyss towards which events were hurrying her. Leading statesmen and Generals, the men most versed in the affairs of the country, had no less seriously spoken out in words of plain warning. Even Queen Christina, who returned to Spain for a short visit in the autumn of 1864, had as far back as then seen and animadverted upon the reckless polity of the Government. All in vain. By September, 1868, it may be said that the vast bulk of the nation, Unionists, Progressists, and Republicans alike, were of one opinion in determining that the Queen must no longer be suffered to wear the crown. Some ten thousand refugees in various countries were prepared, upon a definite signal, to take an active share in the work of overthrowing her.

By the third week of the month that signal had been clearly given. At Cadiz the fleet, under Topete, the crews of an as yet very loyal navy, unmistakably threw in their lot with a revolutionary movement which, day by day, had been more openly proclaiming its immediate definite aim. Serrano, together with Prim, the latter determined as ever that his should be a leading part in the business, hurried to the scene. Salvoes were fired from the forts. A proclamation was issued calling upon the nation to rise; and soon the shouts in the streets of "Down with the Bourbons!" found an echo in every quarter of Spain. Scarcely a newspaper failed to fill its columns with detailed accounts of the Queen's private life. So little, however, did she comprehend the currents which were carrying her towards a maelstrom, that in August she had gone, as a matter of ordinary occurrence, to the Biscay coast for sea-bathing. A meeting in the neighbourhood with their Majesties of France was to take place. When at San Sebastian the continuing outward loyalty of the troops, the welcoming demonstrations of the people, seemed to give the

lie to the sounds and signs of a vast revolution everywhere else ramifying itself. Gonzalez Bravo and Marfori had accompanied the Court; but at the news of the outbreak the Ministry resigned and disappeared. The favourite, however, remained with the Queen, who now gave to General Concha, at Madrid, full powers as to carrying on the civil administration, and as to any military action he might consider expedient. A strategic scheme of operations was drawn up, and a force collected with which to oppose Serrano, who was advancing with the insurrectionary troops from the south. One engagement only was fought. This at Alcolea, near Cordova, on the 28th of September; and resolved itself into a struggle, with some twelve thousand combatants on either side, for the bridge over the Guadalquiver at that point. Novaliches and his Queen's troops fought bravely enough; but only with the result that night closed around a drawn contest in which the Royalist leader had received a fearful wound, while his men were becoming further dispirited by rumours that they, almost alone in Spain, were on the side of a lost cause. On the morrow they were either retired from the scene, or took service under Serrano, who, before committing his men to action, had made every effort to avoid bloodshed by coming to terms with his adversary.

The news of this military collapse reached Isabella when still at San Sebastian. During a week or so before she might, just possibly, have saved her throne by returning to Madrid, as many advisers prompted her to do; but all implored her, however she might act, to cast off Marfori, together with most of her present Camarilla. Others urged that she should despatch to the capital her only son, Alfonso, a boy of eleven. She hesitated. A telegram was sent to the Pope: "Shall I abdicate?" His Holiness replied, "No"; thereby, as his detractors were prompt enough to point out, giving to the world another proof of Papal Infallibility.

While soldiers around the Queen were shouting *vivas* for her there seemed hope. "As long as one of these remains loyal," she exclaimed, "I will not quit my country." There were, however, counter cries anything but loyal. Three times she entered a train ready to carry her to Madrid, but only to quit it on some news, real or reported, of a change for the worse in the situation. Before long came positive information of disturbances near at hand, on the coast-land. The crews of the men-of-war there were following the example of their brethren at Cadiz. In Guipuzcoa the Liberals were carrying everything before them,

amidst triumphant demonstrations. Vitoria, Burgos, and Pamplona declared against her. Bayonne was aleady full of exultant returning exiles. Finally, the whole meaning of Alcolea was made evident to the Queen. Then, on the last day of September, she hastened across the frontier into France, her husband and Marfori accompanying her. "I thought," she cried, "I had a firmer place in the affections of my people."

CHAPTER XI

THE INTERREGNUM AND AMADEUS I

THE Queen was dethroned and had fled the country. Scant and feeble were the voices of loyalty or compassion; equally few were those men of standing whom devotion or interest might have prompted to action on her behalf. Don Carlos and Don Sebastian certainly made a show of drawing their swords as her champions; but their motives were open to suspicion; they were believed to be screening their own aims behind a pretended zeal for a restoration. Some grandees, too, of position came forward with offers of men and money, but only to find themselves helpless in the face of the prevailing frenzy. Troops and people fraternised amidst shouts of "Down with the Bourbons! Away with them for ever!" Many statues of the Queen were demolished, while pictures of her were burnt by the hundred in public. In some cities a re-naming of the streets commenced, in honour chiefly of Prim, Serrano, and Topete. The obliteration of the names of members of the Royal Family was cheered by immense crowds. Juntas sprang up everywhere throughout the country, and decreed the liberty of the subject, of the Press, and of meetings, the re-establishment of the militia, and the abolition of every class of religious house. A proclamation, emanating from Seville, was so democratic in its spirit that its circulation in Madrid was forbidden. Other towns showed themselves no less ready to throw in their lot with a republic.

Plainly a revolution, in the fullest sense of the word, had been brought about. Few excesses were committed; though in the capital there was every opening for them, owing to a distribution of arms from the arsenal, to any chance comers, having taken place. Here, a hurriedly formed Revolutionary Junta made way for a Provisional Government—that is to say, for a Ministry headed and appointed by Serrano, who himself held

no portfolio. To Prim and Topete were given, respectively, the military and naval departments. These three had undoubtedly been the foremost leaders of the movement, and were received, Prim in particular, with passionate enthusiasm by the inhabitants of the capital. It is noteworthy that in the formation of this Cabinet, composed about equally of Progressists and Liberal Unionists, Espartero, who had commenced his career under arms in the second year of the Peninsular War, was consulted. A succession of manifestoes then saw the light, holding out once more to Spain promises of every possible liberty under the sun. Yet it was plainly necessary to mollify, as a preliminary to effacement, the multitudinous provincial Juntas, which were running wildly ahead with their requirements. No Bourbon, it was proclaimed by some, must ever be permitted to set foot in the country again. Others decreed the abolition of a standing army and of all taxation.

The convening of Constituent Cortes was necessarily one of the first duties of the Government. A General Election by universal suffrage took place early in 1869, and afforded to voters, who swarmed to the polls, an opportunity of recording a strong opinion in favour of a Progressist Assembly, pledged to introduce a Constitutional Monarchy. On the opening of the Cortes, in February, Serrano resigned to them his provisional power. They empowered him to resume it and to nominate his own Cabinet. He maintained the one he had already formed, and then the work of framing a new Constitution was quickly proceeded with. The preliminaries were entrusted to a committee composed of Unionists, Progressists, and Republicans, there being over seventy Deputies of the latter party in the new Assembly. Before the new Code had been finally voted, the question as to a Senate was hotly discussed, while the debates wandered into the subject of the expulsion for ever of the Bourbons, into Press laws, amnesties, and even touched upon the separation of Church and State. Nevertheless, early in June, the new Constitution of 1869 was promulgated. An article expressly set forth that the Sovereignty was that of the People. In form the Government was to be Monarchical; and as a Regency was to be instituted during any interim period, such as the present, a voting took place which elected Serrano to be Regent. The Senate controversy ended in the establishment of an Upper House; the Deputies to the Lower House were to be chosen at the rate of one for each forty thousand of the population. Other provisions guaranteed rights and liberties

fuller than ever before, together with a franchise as ample as in any country in the world. For the first time in the history of Spain freedom of religion found a place amongst its laws.

How different the theory from the practice was witnessed, within a year, in the forcible closing of clubs, in states of siege, in restrictions upon municipalities, in the suspension in short of the most important gains of the revolution. On the other hand, it was scarcely to be even hoped that this passage from government by a palace clique to a democratic Constitution would make progress without arousing a variety of passionate factions. Before the close of 1868 labour disputes, complicated by an ordered disbandment of the local militia, had led to sanguinary street fighting in the streets of Cadiz and Malaga. The Government had early determined to take possession of certain properties and records in the keeping of the clergy. Disturbances were the consequence. At Burgos the Governor was assassinated in church, when carrying out this order. In other places the populace anticipated, with violent acts, the measures of the authorities as to the Jesuits. Many convents and seminaries were forcibly closed. There was some desecration of the churches. Priests necessarily became refractory: they complained, with much show of reason, that there was toleration for every religion but their own. Many of them refused to take oath to the new Constitution, and were deprived of their stipends.

Another difficulty was as to the regular army. It had, in particular at this juncture, to be maintained in numbers; for Cuba was in a state of insurrection, the Queen's party was actively intriguing, the Carlists were mustering and drilling in their mountains. Thus it became incumbent to ask for a levy of twenty-five thousand men: a requirement which also led to riots, as many of the Deputies had at the elections given promises that the conscription would soon be a thing of the past. The National Militia had been partially converted by name into Volunteers of Liberty; but before long some regiments showed themselves so glaringly wanting in discipline that they had to be deprived of their arms.

The Republicans constituted a still more formidable embarrassment. In the municipal elections, which had preceded those for the Constituent Cortes, twenty-five provinces out of forty-nine had placed the candidates of that party at the head of the polls. Republican processions, manifestoes and meetings thenceforth became more and more demonstrative. In all the

important towns they had their clubs or other associations. Several high officials were removed for viewing these proceedings with too lenient an eye. Inevitably there gathered towards the movement the idle and the turbulent, the classes which had everything to gain amidst scenes of violence, and consequent opportunities for general pillage. Such men, of course, by their excesses, chiefly as yet in the form of incendiarism, and of wilful damage to railways and telegraph lines, threw discredit on the party. Moreover, the leaders were not united in their political aims; one section purposed a change for the country, as a whole, from a Monarchy to a Republic, another was intent upon a Federal Republic, decentralised even more than either the United States or Switzerland. In the Cortes, however, they showed no small determination to assert themselves: they had largely contributed, they maintained, to bring about the revolution, and were entitled to a share of power and position.

Against this party of restless activity, Progressists, Liberal Unionists, and Extremists of the Right combined but feebly. They, too, had their internal dissensions. Each political party, as so often happens in like circumstances, fell to pursuing its own course, without taking much heed of the country; and within each faction were to be found leaders, similarly looking only to themselves. Hence the Government, lacking definite support, remained languid and inanimate. On the election of Serrano to the Regency, in June, 1869, Prim became head of a Cabinet which included Sagasta, Zorrilla, and other members of the one which it succeeded. He managed to hold it creditably well together, until the Regency and the year 1870 came to an end about the same time. But it was in vain that he strove to give public affairs some of his own vigour: there was a want of initiative, of direct aims: the Government felt itself to be one of transition; so perhaps it may be summed up as being happy in having no history.

Prim, however, should be given the credit of maintaining the country's general tranquillity; for certain Republican and anti-Conscription outbreaks, which occurred in the autumn of 1869 in Tarragona, Barcelona, and other towns, showed that there was ready to evolve itself a very determined spirit of lawlessness, and that the presence, on such occasions, of the newly organised local troops was much more likely to add fuel to the flames than to quench them. In so glancing at this interim, the chances of an insurrection in Spain from mere infection must not be lost

sight of. During 1870 France declared itself Republican, and Saldanha brought affairs to the verge of an insurrection in Portugal. Nevertheless, the Spanish people as a whole seemed apathetic. Probably the only debate in the Cortes which caused any unusual sale of newspapers was one initiated by Figuerola, a member of the Cabinet, as to the disappearance of a considerable portion of the Crown jewels. These, in brief, he asserted had been taken out of the country by Christina and Isabella. A favourable opportunity for disparaging the Royal Family, and Monarchy in general, seems to have been the chief incentive to this violent sally, which could not fail to give an all-round opening to no small number of insinuations and detractions.

The quietude here spoken of has, with a view to clearness, been referred to apart from the great, the all-important question of the period; one adding throughout to the confusion and contentions of parties. Who was to be Spain's future Sovereign? Plainly the urgency of a solution was paramount; every month's delay gave strength to the opponents of the Government. Despite the noisy clamourings of Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, the nation at heart clung to a Monarchy. That form of government had been voted by the Cortes, and the people would have no other. But the task of securing a suitable ruler was found to be beset by difficulties seemingly insuperable. An act of demolition had taken place, with small enough forethought as to the work of reconstruction. All the Protestant Courts were closed, absolutely. Every Prince who might incline towards the proffered elevation knew full well that his Cabinets would be ever changing, his Cortes headstrong and impracticable; that any morning he might find his soldiers drawn up at his palace gates, under one or more of his mercurial Generals, presenting a "Nay" to his measures, though strictly Constitutional. His dealings with Rome would require most delicate manipulation. A Carlist war was seemingly working up; the grandfather of the present Pretender had brought seven years of civil strife upon the country.

In these days of suspense the people were not forgetful of honest old Espartero. Many provinces forwarded petitions, some with thousands of signatures, inviting him to come forward as a candidate. But to all such overtures he wisely turned a deaf ear. Portugal offered a possible solution of the problem, both in Ferdinand, husband of the late Queen Donna

Maria, and in Louis, the reigning King. This, however, served rather to complicate matters; for it brought to the front the Union question. In a chapter upon Portugal the subject is more fully entered into; suffice it here to state that Louis announced that "a Portuguese born, a Portuguese he would die," and that Ferdinand, though for some time prominence was given to his name, fitfully, in connection with the vacant crown, refused it finally as decisively as his son had done.

The Duke of Montpensier had influential supporters, amongst them Serrano and Topete, as well as the majority of the Liberal Unionists. Prim, on the contrary, was determined that no Bourbon should occupy the throne, and the bulk of the people were still of the same mind. The French Emperor was strongly hostile to the project. In March, 1870, the Duke was brought tragically before the public in connection with Henry, Duke of Seville—his wife's cousin, also brother-in-law to Isabella—who likewise nursed some aspirations of his own towards the crown, at the same time that he continued to profess Republican principles. Little enough cordiality had ever existed between the two Dukes; the present contentions further estranged them; and Don Henry, undoubtedly the aggressor, now sought to vilify his rival, through his own section of the Press, in most foul language. A duel was fought: at the third shot Don Henry fell mortally wounded. Any chance Montpensier might have had of securing Republican votes was thus quite at an end. Before the duel he contested unsuccessfully two constituencies; after it little more was heard of his candidature.

While the Progressists were advocating the introduction of new blood entirely, the selection of some Prince unconnected in any way with Spain, and were still hoping that Ferdinand of Portugal would allow himself to be put in nomination, the position of the rightful heir, Isabella's son Alfonso, became more assuring from her having, in June, 1870, renounced her own claims in his favour. The European Courts, that of France in particular, as represented by the Empress Eugénie, would have viewed with favour this solution of the problem. But as to Spain herself, his partisans there were to be found only amongst the grandees and those members of the old Apostolical Party and of the priesthood who were not Carlists; and most of these were being made sensible of the mood of exasperation, still ebullient, against the Bourbon family. Alfonso's accession now meant a Regency for six years—that is, until he should

reach the age of eighteen ; a period which could but be a continuation of the present struggle of many parties for power, of the helpless and confused state of the country, and the increasing strength of the Republican spirit.

All these candidatures, however, sink into insignificance, historically, compared with that of Leopold of Hohenzollern ; at all events in regard to the number of pages which have been printed on the subject ; for which reason, and since the event scarcely touched Spain herself, a mere reminder of the fact may here suffice. It is perhaps less well known that while Frenchmen were protesting against the Prince as a German, Spaniards were objecting to him as a Frenchman. Each succeeding investigation makes it clearer that Bismarck was the piper, while Napoleon, Prim, Benedetti, and others were drawn blindly into the dance. In fact, the candidature was but a chance puff of wind, quickening two mighty thunderclouds already rapidly nearing each other. The Prince's name was merely the glove thrown into the arena, and lost sight of at once in the shock and dust of contending antagonists.

Italy had throughout attracted towards her Court many of the eyes in search of a king. Overtures were first made in respect to the Duke of Genoa, nephew of King Victor Emanuel. He was at the time a youth of sixteen, and at school at Harrow. After he had declined, or his nearest relatives had done so on his behalf, the hopes of Prim and his party became centred, during 1870, in the King's second son, Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, a prince likely, for many reasons, to occupy satisfactorily the Spanish throne. He was twenty-five years of age, known to be upright, honourable, and liberal-minded. He had proved himself valorous on the field of battle, and was married to a wife estimable as himself. A son had been born to them. He, however, was altogether averse to the proposed elevation : so, too, a majority of the statesmen of influence in the royal council. Victor Emanuel, on the contrary, was eager for it, and there were State reasons which might well give an impulse to his desires. His own position as king would, in short, be strengthened by it. But, when the candidature was first under discussion, United Italy was barely a historical fact. Such as it was, it had been effected in a manner which found little approval at the Tuileries. Rome was still garrisoned by French troops. The Empress and her circle, in addition to their sympathy for the Holy Father, favoured the restoration in Spain of the Bourbons, who were connected by many ties

with the dispossessed Royal Families of Naples and Parma, and who, as far as it had lain in their power, had rarely failed to gratify the Vatican by that subserviency which it held to be its due.

The events of 1870, if disarming some of this more than probable hostility, gave fresh grounds to Victor Emanuel for wishing to see his son established on the throne of Spain. In addition to those influences which were opposing his occupation of Rome, and the abridgement of the Temporal Power, there was the fact that France had declared for a republic. It seemed not at all impossible that Spain might follow suit. The republican spirit in Italy, by no means a negligible matter, must surely gain impulse from two such neighbours. All these considerations were urgently impressed upon Amadeus. It was plainly his duty, to Italy and to her King, as a patriot and as a son, to accept the vacant throne. Thus importuned he yielded. Already the Cortes had declared that the Sovereign of their choice, whoever he might be, must be elected by an actual majority—that is, by more than half of the total 347 Deputies who constituted the Chamber. When the voting took place, on November 16, 1870, there were present 311 members. Amadeus received 191 votes, 63 were recorded for a republic, for Montpensier 27, for Espartero 8. A single vote for the Duchess of Montpensier, two for Don Alfonso, and blank papers made up the remainder.

The King landed at Cartagena on the 30th of the following month. While he was at sea after quitting Italy a terrible tragedy had been enacted at Madrid. Prim had been mortally wounded by assassins. It was a most determined outrage: his carriage was stopped in a narrow street, as he was returning at evening from the Cortes; firearms were thrust into and discharged within the very carriage; the unfortunate victim received eight bullet wounds. Thus died Prim, one of Spain's most patriotic sons; a man eminently courageous on the battle-field, in politics, and it may be said in private life; for this was not the first attempt against him, and he had been warned that assassins were again on his track; nevertheless he disdained an escort. His great claim upon the Spanish people is that he devoted himself, untiringly, towards securing those liberties for which they had for half a century been risking their all, but which the notorious Ferdinand VII., his profligate daughter, and their despicable Camarillas had as persistently intrigued to withhold. Prim well knew what the obstructions were

against his country rising towards the level of other European States, in political freedom and all that hangs upon it. The revolution of September, 1868, crowned his endeavours. During Serrano's Regency he was Spain's real ruler, and found for it a king, whom the people were too vain and too selfish to appreciate. A mystery still hangs around the perpetrators of the assassination, or perhaps it should be said around the instigators to the deed.

Now, at all events, the interregnum was at an end. Scarcely had Prim's passing bell ceased to toll, when cannonadings and *vivas* commenced to announce the approach of the new King towards his capital. His first act there was to pay a solemn visit to the church where lay the body of the statesman whose guiding hand he could so ill afford to lose. After this there was a ceremonious oath-taking and handing over of the regalia. Some weeks later the Queen arrived, having been delayed by the exigencies attendant on giving to Spain another heir in reserve. Their receptions, ostentatious to the eye, were in reality but of silent respect. Victor Emanuel, blinded somewhat by the dazzle of the proffered crown, had failed to realise the possibilities of combinations, political and other, directed against his son. The people, probably, would soon have welcomed his rule cordially enough, had those leaders who were responsible for Amadeus applied themselves seriously to uphold him. No doubt the prospect had been painted, for presentation to the Court at Florence, in colours too roseate by Prim and his adventurous friends; for at the very time that the final decision was come to in Italy, the Spanish Press generally was clamouring against the verdict of the Cortes. Still, confidence was unmistakably restored. The army, with some notable exceptions certainly, swore fealty. A loan was raised.

The first Cabinet of Amadeus had at its head Serrano, and amongst its members some who had held office under Prim. It was intended to be one of conciliation, combining the sections of the advanced party and including men of distinction; but in its formation the King refrained from interfering, and this became a rule to which in subsequent cases he adhered. His hope, a vain one, was that the many existing political parties might be induced to so far amalgamate as to give him, to deal with, definite large bodies having fixed aims. As to the men who had brought him to Spain, their duty was plainly to stand, shoulder to shoulder, against the Republicans and their Socialist

following, as well as against the Carlists and the partisans of the expelled branch of the Bourbons; especially as, with the announcement of a General Election which took place in March, all these malcontent bodies were seen to be working more or less together, not merely at the hustings, but towards inflaming the excitable passions of the people against the new dynasty itself.

In this coalition against a Government, ever weakening from continuous dissensions, we have the key to much that now followed. The grandees were senselessly inimical to Amadeus, for no other reason than that he was a foreign prince, and there was little enough of *noblesse oblige* in their ways of showing it. Although to the clerical party he had given the fullest assurances that he desired cordial relations with Rome, that city was occupied by the troops of Victor Emanuel, when he and his Court followed he was denounced as the Pope's gaoler. A number of the clergy flatly refused to recognise the new dynasty. Of the many manifestoes of the Republicans, one announced that to acquiesce in the change was to expose themselves to the scoffs of the whole civilised world of to-day, and to everlasting execration by the voice of history. The exasperation and mortification of the Carlists took the more practical form of storing up arms and ammunition.

The elections gave the Government a majority of about a hundred in the Chamber, and practically the whole of the Senate; yet it was soon evident that the Cabinet was not working in unison. Of the ministers, some held that it should suffice to hold fast by, and consolidate, the results of the September revolution; another section was eager to push ahead at full speed upon the opening highway of radical reform. The inevitable "crisis," upon some trivial question, was not long in occurring: in June the Ministry submitted its resignation. Amadeus, however, replied that there was no real embarrassment which did not admit of an internal adjustment; that no Constitutional point was in debate; that the majority in the House had suffered no diminution, much less had it incurred a hostile vote. "If I accept this resignation," he asked, "on what principle are my new advisers to be chosen?" Hence there was a patching up of the dissensions, but only until the end of July, when the formation of a new Cabinet was entrusted to Zorrilla, who had shown himself a determined leader in the revolution, and a no less zealous advocate for the election of Amadeus. He it was who had led the advance party amongst

the late ministers, and he now had for colleagues mostly new men, all Progressists, while he himself about this period seems to have inclined towards the Republicans. Yet the same tendencies reappeared: there were members prepared to advocate measures much too radical for their comparatively conservative associates, resulting in the exit of Zorrilla in less than two and a half months. The actual test point was the voting as to whether Rivero, an advanced Democrat, or Sagasta should occupy the President's chair of the Lower Chamber.

Offers were now made to Espartero, but he declined office, as did Sagasta; finally, Malcampo, with a hybrid following, was installed as a minister not committed to any party. This was felt to be but an arrangement of transition, and the year 1871 ended with Sagasta as Premier. All parties knew him to be a clear-headed, temperate, hard-working man of business. He took up the leadership with nearly the same colleagues as his predecessor, who himself continued to hold the Admiralty portfolio. Topete also had a seat. The foredoom of the Government, however, was to be found in the diverging views of the new head minister and Zorrilla; soon to become a rivalry, then a deadly enmity; yet these two united might have proved a tower of salvation to the King.

While such the Ministries, their opponents were gradually welding themselves into an antagonism avowedly anti-dynastic. Their immediate aim was to render government impossible: their methods were time-wasting, the needless prolongation of debates, and every other species of obstruction. For this passionate, senselessly blind determination to drive away Amadeus, cause or justification there was none. He had now been nearly a year on the throne; he was ruling strictly constitutionally; individual liberty was absolutely safe. His speeches were models of good taste, and, what was more, he was the only Sovereign that Spain had for a long time known who honestly meant what he said. He was courteous, kind-hearted, and accessible to all. His only deficiency was in the language; and it was not easy for him to understand the habits and singularities of his new people. The principal of his personal acts were towards introducing a system of economy and respectability, where before had place an idle, wasteful, profligate Court. It was objected to him that he had a liking for making his way about the capital as a private individual, instead of taking part in a daily tour through the streets, with carriages and escorts long enough for a jubilee procession.

Sagasta held the reins until May, 1872, and passed through some troublous phases of political life. In the previous November, so hopeless had become the confusion and blockage in the Cortes, that the King had suspended their sittings. Early next April there was a General Election, attended by such glaring abuses of influence on the part of the Government to give seats to their candidates, that some of these, including the War Secretary, refused to avail themselves of successes gained by a procedure so flagrant. As the Unionists were by far the strongest party in the Chamber, they claimed the largest number of portfolios; but the difficulty was to give effect to this change. Thus Sagasta and his querulous majority stood confronting a coalition which, if united for the moment, was one where Republicans were playing into the hands of absolutism in the person of Don Carlos, and where men, demanding an essentially circumscribed royal power, were opening the way for a restoration of Isabella's branch of the Bourbons. Presently Sagasta was arraigned, not without justifiable grounds, upon a general charge of having, in order to influence the late elections, made use of State funds. His dexterous prevarications, the shifts and expedients of his colleagues, in attempting to evade investigation, were regarded by a clamorous Press and public as equivalent to a plea of guilty. He resigned on May 22nd.

But by this time a small cloud in the north, which successive Governments, distracted by the turmoils of office, had paid little heed to, had gathered to a thunderstorm. The Carlists had again taken the field. Carlos VII., according to their table of the sovereigns of Spain, a grandson of the Carlos of the long war in the thirties, was now their chosen king. His father was still alive, but having from his liberal ideas and other reasons ceased to be in harmony with the upholders of the cause, he had resigned all his pretensions in favour of the present claimant. There had been hopes on his part, not destined to fulfilment, that with the consent of Isabella and the Montpensiers he might become the sole representative of a Bourbon restoration. Carlism had, however, during the three and a half years since Isabella's flight, been gradually lifting up its head again. Its partisans had been able to work more openly under Constitutional forms, though Prim's energy kept them within respectful bounds. Still, as the feelings of the country continued to become, if only on the surface, more and more Republican, much of what was Monarchical in sentiment transferred itself to Don Carlos.

The priesthood in the Basque Provinces had taken care that such enthusiasm as existed should not fall asleep. Wherever they could they furthered the cause upon the legal local governing bodies, while in the secret Carlist clubs and Juntas they were the chief speakers. With the advent of Amadeus they gained no small access of strength for a propaganda which their advantageous organisation enabled them to spread far and wide. The new King, in brief, was preached against as the son of the arch-offender in the spoliation of the Holy See. Affairs in France, the confusion there, had facilitated the importation of arms. Hence, for some months before the spring of 1872, there was the possibility of a Carlist outbreak which, to say the least of it, must prove a serious embarrassment to the Madrid Government. The latter meanwhile continued either to ignore this increasing menace or to be ill-informed in respect to it.

During this same period, although the dissensions throughout the Peninsula, the mustering of guerrilla bands in the north, and the eager clamours of their leaders inviting Don Carlos to sound a call to arms, seemed of good omen, he held back from giving the expected signal. He was fully justified, for the necessary funds had not been forthcoming; in some districts the insurrectionary bodies, civil and military, were not in agreement; their Press was no less out of accord. Amongst the individual chiefs there were feuds. Cabrera, the most distinguished, found excuses for keeping aloof from the enterprise altogether. Carlos, moreover, was averse to submitting to any restricting conditions; he rejected advice, even that of the Pope. Then came a juncture when his hand was being forced: leaders and their followers were becoming uncontrollable; the Juntas began to act on their own account; some guerrilla bands to march openly across the country. Again were to be seen priests, crucifixes in their hands, urging the people to prompt action: again the Basque valleys resounded to the old war-cries of the days of Zumalacarregui.

Don Carlos crossed the Navarre frontier early in May, 1872, to find himself received everywhere with enthusiasm, but no less to see verified his opinion that his standard had been too hastily unfurled. Clamourings came for money, and he had none to give. The rank and file were there numerous enough, but their arms were insufficient and out of date; the ammunition had deteriorated. Many of the leaders were unfitted for their positions. His brother Alfonso, accompanied and

seconded by his wife, a woman of masculine and combative instincts, had for some time been disturbing and destroying in the eastern provinces. The main scheme, however, had failed in one important particular. All the strong places along the Pyrenean frontier, such as Bilbao, Pamplona, Vitoria, Seo d'Urgel, Figueras, some at least of which it was hoped would fall to the Carlists, stood firm and faithful.

What followed scarcely merits the name of a campaign. Encounters occurred; but one of these, in a sense, became a decisive engagement. This at Oroquieta, a straggling village with mountainous surroundings in the northernmost angle of Navarre. Here the main Carlist force, about four thousand strong, under the Pretender himself, arrived on the 4th of May, weary and hungry after a long march. Gross heedlessness was then displayed: no outposts were placed; many of the men dispersed in search of food, most of the rest were soon fast asleep. In this unready condition they were attacked by a much smaller body of troops under Moriones. A scene of confusion rather than a fight took place; many of the Carlists fled without firing a shot; about forty were killed; seven hundred were surrounded and made prisoners, considerably more than that number soon laid down their arms. Don Carlos quickly regained French territory, and a general dispersal of the bands ensued.

When Sagasta fell Serrano succeeded him. The latter was then at the seat of war, where in an unfortunate hour, by the concessions of the Convention of Amorevieta, which followed the disappearance of Don Carlos from the scene, he lost all the popularity which was justly his as Commander-in-Chief during successful operations. Serrano may have been in the main influenced by a praiseworthy desire that clemency should lead to fraternity, and to allay that sanguinary spirit of revenge which has so often disgraced the termination of civil strife in Spain. If so, the principle was here carried to a preposterous extreme. By this Convention a full pardon was granted to deserters, including officers, from the regular army. They were permitted to retain their grades—in short, to return to their corps as if nothing whatever had happened. A similar forgiveness was extended to all the civil officials who had aided or abetted the rising. Much more wrong was it that the Commissions which were to regulate compensation for exactions and requisitions were appointed locally, and often from the very men who had instigated the movement. In brief, the

opponents of the Government were to adjudge, in many cases the claims of loyal supporters of it. No use was made of the advantage gained in the north to bring about a cessation of the disorders in the eastern provinces. The Carlists boasted of Oroquieta as if it had been a victory gained by themselves.

Although Serrano, as far as the voting in the two Houses judged the Convention, obtained an approval of it, he and his ministers could not well have made a more unfavourable beginning. At the same time he considered the general aspect so ominously threatening, that he advised the King to suspend the Constitution. This having been decisively refused, he made way in the middle of June for Zorrilla, with a thoroughly Radical Cabinet and a programme in keeping. He announced that the Conscription would be abolished, and the army and navy remodelled on national grounds. All the freedoms guaranteed by statute, as to religion, as to association, meeting and so forth, would be accorded the fullest latitude. A Dissolution was almost immediately decreed.

Before the elections had taken place a determined attempt was made to assassinate the King. He had attended an evening concert in the open air, on July 18th, and was returning to the palace a little after midnight with the Queen, when from various points in a main thoroughfare several shots in succession were fired at them, all happily without effect. The King's coolness on this occasion, and the somewhat favourable impression produced during an autumn tour in the provinces, seemed to bring to him a little of that popularity which, much as he merited it, he had never really enjoyed.

Zorrilla in the new Cortes had 294 supporters, who, ceasing to call themselves Progressists or Democrats, coalesced under the name of Radicals. There were seventy-six proclaimed Republicans; but that party now meant a line of action more decided that merely lending strength to any of the other contending bodies. They saw that a rivalry of leaders and a generally confused antagonism were likely to give them their opportunity; and though this did not prevent them from falling into a similar state of discord, an outbreak in October at Ferrol, in which civil guards, sailors, and workmen were implicated, showed that there, at all events, the party had a dangerously ready and active following. Some twenty-five Monarchists were elected, but the Conservatives had to a considerable extent held aloof from the elections, and the Carlists had wholly done so. It was ominous that, of the 191 members who had

voted for bestowing the crown upon Amadeus, only forty-six had seats in these Cortes.

As to the remaining steps which led to the great Constitutional change now close at hand, these consisted chiefly in Zorrilla's Government becoming discredited, in the King thus by association incurring a further loss of popularity, and in a large section of the nation, or perhaps, more strictly speaking, of its leaders, having set their minds upon a republic. Those opposed to the latter hoped and were working for a restoration in the person of Alfonso, with or without the Duke of Montpensier as Regent, and he was prepared to acquiesce in the former solution. One first difficulty for Zorrilla was in regard to the army. He had promised to do away with the Conscription ; but as day by day it was becoming more and more patent that the Carlists, as a body, had been scarcely scotched, much less made an end of, he found it imperative to ask for a levy of no less than forty thousand men. Heated debates upon this, in regard to the International, as to a renewal of the misappropriation charges against Sagasta, and as to Cuban affairs, with which was intermixed the question of the abolition of slavery and difficulties with the United States—these further, before the end of 1872, shook a Government, that is to say, a Monarchy, visibly tottering to its fall.

A much more serious agitation arose as to General Hidalgo. This officer, during the disturbances of 1866, had in June headed a rising of artillerymen in one of the Madrid barracks, but, from personal motives of hatred and vengeance, he had turned the inflamed passions of the men against their own officers, and had assisted in the slaughter which took place of several of them. Such, at all events, was the accusation brought against him by the regiment as a whole. After a period of varied employments he was now appointed by Zorrilla to the post of Captain-Genéral in the Basque Provinces. But his crime had never been forgotten, it was certainly not now forgiven him. Outcries on the one side, attempted justifications on the other, inflamed the situation in the Cortes and elsewhere. Then the whole of the artillery officers, some seven or eight hundred, resigned bodily. Amadeus, who had personally been opposed to Hidalgo's appointment, and who sympathised with the officers, was unwilling to accept the resignations. The ministers, however, supported by a majority in the Cortes, declared that they could not condone such a breach of discipline, and proposed to meet the case by the immediate promotion of sergeants to fill the vacancies.

Amadeus acceded, being of opinion that his coronation oath bound him so to do. He had refused to lend himself to a *coup d'état* by which, with the aid of an army generally disaffected, it was proposed that he should cut himself adrift from the Radicals and install a Cabinet taken from their opponents. In fact, he had decided upon quitting the throne. Instead of the Constitutional ruler he had hoped to find himself, he had become the mere figure-head of a Radical party, the extremists of which were making common cause with avowed Republicans. In short, all parties alike seemed in inextricable confusion. His Prime Minister was pandering for popularity to the rabid politicians of the clubs and the streets. Some of his personal staff, civil as well as military, were in correspondence with the leading men who were working for a restoration of the Bourbons. Abetting these, or openly assisting the Carlists, were numbers of the priesthood. The Hidalgo disgrace was more and more alienating the whole army. In the Cortes, where the King's words had sometimes met with interruption, the chief orators were seen to be blind to all the true interests of the country—to everything, in short, but their own petty ambitions. The Press was running a wild course of reckless abusiveness. During two long years the grandees of Spain had turned their backs upon their King. He was isolated, and disliked as a stranger. Worst of all, the common people, attributing to him the existing poverty and stagnation of business, as well as an everywhere rising tendency towards insurrection, were barely civil. Amadeus, with all this before his eyes, powerless for good, and determined to be privy to no single unconstitutional act, resigned the crown of Spain on February 11, 1873. Next morning he quitted Madrid.

CHAPTER XII

THE REPUBLIC

FEW probably, of the thousands of Spaniards who, in 1868, roared forth execrations against the Bourbons had given much heed to the future. Fewer still could have thought it possible that for two long years there would be an empty throne. Then, when the country seemed to have obtained the very gift that it had been clamouring and shedding its blood for, ever since the days of the French Revolution, namely, a Liberal Constitution, together with a King honourably determined to give it every legal latitude—a King, too, elected by the Cortes of the country—then, at once, as we have seen, nobles, clericals, Republicans, Carlists, and a Restoration party commenced scheming to drive him from the throne, while the leaders who had invited him to the land became so blinded by their personal ambitions and passions that they too worked towards the same end. Here, again, what forethought was given, by any of these factions, as to the Government which would be set up should Amadeus abdicate? When that did happen the nation was certainly not long held in suspense. At about midnight, on February 11, 1873, the Cortes accepted the abdication of Amadeus; on the following day, sitting as one body, they declared by 258 votes against 32 for a republic.

It is to be noted that the two Chambers were forbidden by Statute to assemble as one, in this way; that a special Act was necessary before the Sovereign could resign his crown; and that these being Ordinary, not Constituent Cortes, were not empowered to introduce Constitutional changes. Notwithstanding this, the Spanish Republic had now established itself as an unmistakable fact. Isabella's misrule, the two years' interregnum, with agitators working then and afterwards assiduously amongst municipal bodies, the non-regular forces, and the manufacturing classes, aided by the establishment of a

republic in France, and the seeming impracticability of obtaining another king from any of the Courts of Europe—all these had contributed towards rendering possible so complete a transformation in Spain.

As quietly as could well be expected this first act was accomplished. A thrill of doubtful portent indeed ran through the capital, and crowds gathered around the scene of the debates, for the Ministry itself was known to contain a leaven of discord. It was unavoidable that there should be very conflicting views as to procedure, but one first outcome was that the title National Assembly was assumed. There was much purposeless oratory, and some excited Deputies declared that they would leave the building only as citizens of a republic, or be carried from it as corpses, while a few actually had arms in their possession. A Provisional Government—that is, a new Ministry—was soon installed, elected in this instance by the Assembly. Figueras was President, Castelar a member, and it heralded its advent to power by proclaiming the sovereignty of the people, the fullest liberties to all, and a general political amnesty.

All properties of the Crown were to be transferred to the nation. The Privy Council, the Conscription, and oaths of office in some cases, were to be abolished. Stars, crosses, and other such decorations were no longer to be worn. The Volunteers of Liberty would reappear as Volunteers of the Republic. Constituent Cortes would shortly be convened, for the purpose of giving shape and substance to the new form of government. One of the first measures to receive consideration would be the separation of Church and State. In the provinces, already much unsettled, such additional ebullitions as took place were as yet wild and childish rather than serious; though several murders took place at Montilla, and in many places the priests, churches, and convents were plainly the objects of popular hatred. Barcelona proclaimed the Independent State of Catalonia, and passed for awhile, as did Malaga, into the hands of an insurrectionary body. Some regiments broke from control and mixed themselves in the disorders: everywhere, indeed, at this juncture military discipline was seen to be very much relaxed.

Seemingly, as the Cabinet had been chosen by the Cortes, there should have been, at least for awhile, a rule of harmony; especially as the notion had been uppermost that a coalition body would be under the necessity of adopting a conciliatory procedure. But the experiment did not work. The Radicals

in the Cabinet were objected to by their out-and-out Republican brethren; the latter determined to rid themselves of the former, and in less than a fortnight did so. One immediate bone of contention was the question as to a Dissolution: for elections at once meant to the Radicals, almost certainly, a loss of seats and preponderance, whereas in a delay were many classes of possibilities. The Radicals had the support of the bulk of the Cortes, their opponents were backed up by the people of Madrid, and reflected perhaps for the moment the republican feeling of the country. Mixed up with this strife was one just as much for individual supremacy as for principles, and so threatening became the situation that the Assembly itself was placed under the charge of civil guards.

These, again, together with the other non-regular troops in the capital, further endangered the position, as, in the event of an outbreak, it was probable that they would soon be in conflict. So little did the public generally trust in the power of the Government to maintain order, that they began concerting their own measures towards that end. Thus menaced the Radicals gave way, and a purely Republican Ministry was constituted. Amongst the former were a considerable number of Deputies who, though they had voted for a republic, had done so as a matter of necessity, as the only solution which presented itself. They regarded the present as another interim period, and hoped to see a Democratic Monarchy soon again established. As, however, they resorted to obstructive tactics, the Government towards the end of March prorogued the Cortes, as a preliminary to a General Election. Whereupon the existing antagonism, rendered more acute by this high-handed act as it was declared to be, transferred itself to one between the ministers and a permanent committee, which had been chosen by the Assembly to represent it during the period of suspension, and in which the Radicals were in a majority. The pretext for this duel between Republicans and Radicals was that the latter were plotting in a reactionary sense. Amongst the people this meant that schemes were afoot for a restoration of the Monarchy.

Of the permanent committee Serrano was the leading spirit; and though an arrangement had been effected by which it and ministers were to meet and work together as one body, harmony was out of the question; for plainly the Radicals were striving to assemble the Cortes, and trusted by that means to eject the Cabinet. It was seen, too, that in the attempt they would not hesitate to adopt forcible measures. The ministers

were supported by the civil authorities of the capital, and by the non-regular troops, with the exception of some militia. As yet the regular regiments stood aloof; but Pavia, the Captain-General of Madrid, was inclined to side with the Deputies and their committee, at all events as to their demand that the Cortes should be summoned. He had worked assiduously towards improving the discipline of the men under him, and could depend upon them.

Apparently, the next move of the Radicals was to have been that the Cortes should assemble, declare themselves in permanent session, and with the aid of Pavia's troops make a riddance of the Cabinet. Thus an armed conflict seemed inevitable. On April 23rd the strife passed to a climax. The militia who were to lend their aid to the Radicals assembled at the Bull Ring. Pavia seems to have been ready to act, but the leaders of the movement hung back. They were, in fact, including even the members of the permanent committee, at variance amongst themselves. While they thus stood irresolute, the ministers surrounded the Bull Ring with their own troops, and in superior numbers. Hence a speedy collapse of the attempt: it led to little beyond the invasion of the Chamber, where the committee was sitting, by disorderly bands of Volunteers of Liberty shouting, "Death to the enemies of the Republic!" The permanent committee was now dissolved, as hostile to the will of the people, as an organ of disorder and an encumbrance to the State. Serrano fled to France.

A General Election in May resulted in an almost complete Federal-Republican victory, though about one-fourth only of the electors recorded their votes. The Constituent Cortes, thus brought together and consisting of a single Chamber, were opened on June 1st by a speech from Figueras, remarkable no less from its generally optimistic tone than from his saying at this juncture, of the Spanish people, that it was difficult to decide whether to admire most their valour or their prudence, their self-control or their enthusiasm. After he had remitted to the Assembly the powers with which he and his colleagues had been invested, a Federal-Democratic Republic was proclaimed on the 8th by 210 against two votes; and in so giving their voices the intention perhaps uppermost in the minds of delegates was to establish a Government after the pattern of the United States. Following some very singular confusion as to organising an executive power, complicated by the sudden disappearance of Figueras, who had fled the scene,

Pi y Margall became President of a new Cabinet, elected in this instance also by the Assembly; though after awhile he was empowered to choose his own fellow workers, according to the usual custom in Cabinets. Naturally a first work was to be the formulating of a Constitution such as had been voted for. There was also the announcement of a long list of projected measures, including free and compulsory education, and the separation of Church and State. But none of these need be further alluded to, since all legislation was soon brought to a standstill amidst a turmoil of internal convulsions.

Of these the Carlist War was the breaking out again, on a vast scale, of a conflagration which had heedlessly been left only half extinguished. The Convention of Amorevieta may be said to have brought about merely a suspension of arms in the Basque Provinces, while it encouraged the increasing state of insurrection in Catalonia and its adjacent provinces. Here, during 1872 and the following year, numerous guerrilla bands, though of a strength only of some six or seven hundred each, were terrorising a vast area, paralysing trade and the collection of revenue, destroying the railways and telegraph lines, causing an abandonment of agriculture, and permitting unlimited smuggling. Their chiefs, of whom the most prominent were Tristany, Castells, and Savalls, could only occasionally be induced to combine for a common venture. Sudden attacks upon small towns, with an eye to the local treasure chest or other pillage, were their most frequent exploits; and they rarely waited for more than an exchange of shots with the punitive columns despatched against them. In this way Reuss, Ripoll, Berga, Solsona, and Segorbe were captured by and retaken from insurgent bodies of this class of men, who had neither the religious fanaticism nor the unswerving faith in a cause, nor yet the endurance and soldier-like instincts which made their northern brethren so formidable.

Certainly in the Basque Provinces, for some time after Oroquieta, the hopes of Don Carlos seemed extinguished. A large portion of the inhabitants were of this opinion, and had no wish to see their districts agitated, much less devastated, by another forlorn hope. Some of the bands had readily given up their arms; others had become fractious and disorderly; many men had gone off to their homes, reviling as they went their chiefs, who were themselves frequently at open discord. Hereupon, in September, 1872, the army operating against the Carlists in the north was, very unwisely as it proved, broken

up. For the Juntas and other directing bodies of the insurgents, composed in most cases of priests and other indefatigable partisans, continued to scheme and organise in view of a fresh rising. Hence, on the proclamation of the Republic, early in the following year, when an increasing activity was everywhere manifest, commanders and their Staffs all had their appointed positions. Guerrilla bands brought forth their hidden arms, many of them indeed only flint and steel muskets which had seen service during the first Carlist War. The young men of the villages handling merely wooden staves, were to be seen practising the firing exercises. Priests rushed more eagerly than ever into the fray. Carlos, Religion, Spain, and the Fueros were again their texts.

Amadeus, whom they had before thundered against as the arch enemy of the Holy Father, gave place in their harangues to the Republican troops, which all too scantily were being despatched to the north. They were vilified as robbers of churches, as ravagers, and as slayers of old men and children. Nevertheless hostilities were long in quickening. Clothing and equipment were sorely needed by the Carlists. Such stores as crossed the frontier usually passed through the hands of contractors, bent only on filling their own pockets. Money dribbled in very scantily, the French Legitimists being perhaps the most conspicuous with their mites. Hence, the early part of the wet, wintry spring of 1873 was spent by the Carlists in little more than the destruction of railways and telegraphs, and in attempts at surprises. At the same time they gained strength and cohesion, while means were found to provide them with uniforms and better arms. They could be depended upon to make marches almost as well by night as by day. Soon they disconcerted all the plans of their opponents, who were too few for the task in hand, and were largely made up of recently enlisted local non-regular forces. These then could effect but little, even in the way of reprisals, affording protection, or giving evidence of their existence. From the outset they began to suffer reverses. During this early marching and counter-marching, occupying and vacating positions, the afflictions of the civil authorities were often truly pitiable. Both combatants, in addition to their exactions, menaced them continually with the direst penalties, including death, should they be detected in any way assisting an adversary.

Of the priests who, either from their pulpits or by openly marching and fighting with the Carlist columns, were deter-

mined relentlessly to keep alive the insurrection, one, Santa Cruz, quickly rose to a scandalous notoriety. He possessed to the full all the activity and audacity which contribute to success in such warfare. From having with him at first a mere knot of men, he was afterwards frequently at the head of bands of some hundreds. Guipuzcoa was the chief scene of his operations, where, besides exacting money and supplies, he developed a fiercely cruel disposition. After commencing by flogging a man to death and shooting a woman, his ferocious instincts soon led him to slaughter, in cold blood, a batch of prisoners who had surrendered under a promise that their lives should be spared. A succession of other barbarities followed. Half-a-dozen columns were sometimes out in pursuit of him at the same time. When Moriones offered a reward of twenty thousand pesetas for his capture, he coolly announced that he would give a reward of two pesetas for that of Moriones. He was more than once a prisoner and escaped; yet, even after a sentence of death had been pronounced against him by the Carlists themselves, he was influential enough to work up a military insurrection against one of their principal leaders, Lizarraga, who would no doubt have fared badly had his enemy's plan to seize his person succeeded.

In the middle of July, 1873, Don Carlos himself, confident and enthusiastic, appeared upon the scene. It is only right to state that he had already denounced Santa Cruz and all his ways. Thousands flocked to greet the Prince and hailed him with unbounded delight. His star was certainly in the ascendant. His army was increasing rapidly: a considerable portion of it was well equipped and had rifles of the latest modern pattern. It had been joined by a number of the artillery officers whom the Hidalgo blunder had lost to the Republic. These had solemnly engaged, amongst themselves, to act hand in hand as one body; but, with the inevitable tendency in Spain of coalitions of all sorts to fly apart as soon as formed, many of the ex-artillerists were now proclaimed Alfonists. Don Carlos, in short, had every reason to feel elated amidst his present surroundings. He had, moreover, found a brilliant leader to hand in Dorregaray, skilful both at organising and in action; a veteran of the former long struggle. Lizarraga was little inferior to him in military capacity.

On the other hand, the Madrid Government, plunged, as will shortly be seen, into the convulsions of a second and more portentous outburst, found itself soon paralysed in regard to

this war in the north. It was in want of dexterous leaders; what was worse was that, partly from political considerations, the command at both seats of the war was frequently changed. In the Basque Provinces there were four fresh commanders in ten months, each bringing with him his own Staff and plan of operations. The substitution of Pavia for Moriones brought matters to the verge of a military revolt which, even so, dislocated the plan of campaign. Worst of all, there were attempts to direct the course of the operations from the capital. Discipline could not well have fallen to a lower ebb. Many of the present political leaders, in and out of office, had declared that under a republic there would be no more compulsory service: the soldiers then, in fewest words, considered themselves justified in acting upon these promises. As usual, their pay was in arrears and their clothing worn out. Consequently, it is scarcely surprising to read that there was an insurrection in Velerde's division at Igualada, or that on one occasion the garrison of Barcelona, on another that of Pamplona flatly refused to march out against the Carlists. At Murviedro the men in a regiment murdered their colonel.

As to the actual fighting, if we except an affair at the beginning of October and another a month later, both indecisive and in the neighbourhood of Estella, in Navarre, no engagement at at all considerable took place, certainly none with important results. Yet, at the same time, a succession of small encounters leading to the capture by the Carlists of a gun or two here, of a convoy there, on some occasions of batches of prisoners or stragglers, on others of arms, ammunition, horses, mules, and other such useful supplies—these in sum, together with the abandonment of a number of minor posts, enabled Don Carlos in due course to announce, with perfect truth, that his columns were marching through the Basque Provinces as unmolested as if he had already been crowned King at Madrid. Renowned Estella, hallowed Vergara had fallen to him; in fact, the country generally made memorable in the first Carlist War. In the heart of this, at Azpeitia, he had a large arsenal. Money was fairly plentiful.

Government troops, however, occupied San Sebastian, Pamplona, Vitoria, Bilbao, and Tolosa, which were at times isolated rather than besieged, owing to the enemy's want of heavy ordnance. But these in a way, to a small army, constituted a weakness. Their garrisons had to cling to them; whereas the Carlists, not similarly hampered, could the more readily get

together ten thousand men or so for sudden detached enterprises. This was the general condition in the north as 1873 began to draw to a close. In the eastern provinces affairs presented no particular change. Plundering and destroying guerrilla bands continued to be pursued, without much activity and with less still of method, by commanders of only moderate capacity. Meantime Don Carlos had been solemnly anointed at Guernica, and beneath its revered oak-tree had sworn to safeguard for his people their idolised Fueros. It did not, however, escape notice that a petty Court, levees, reviews of troops, and presentations of banners seemed more congenial to his mind than the sterner business and realities of campaigning.

The other, and in some respects much more appalling, conflagration, above alluded to, of this same year burst forth in the south-east of the Peninsula, and centred chiefly in Cartagena. A general effervescence, which soon followed the proclamation of the Republic, here culminated in nothing less than an attempt on the part of certain provinces to establish themselves as distinct separate Governments. Furthermore, smaller districts, many towns, and even villages became infected with this craze for individual rule. The Socialistic aims of the movement will be rendered apparent by mentioning that, in one place or another, it was declared, in addition to independence, that all property was to be held in common; that State funds and buildings would be taken in charge by the people; that the army must be suppressed; the rich only taxed; wages were to be regulated by local legislatures. Cadiz and the coast towns of Valencia were proclaimed to be free ports. Some places put in circulation a coinage of their own.

As to Cartagena itself, there was a partial revolt of the troops, which were non-regulars, a salvo was fired from the fort, and a red flag hoisted. Castle, arsenal, barracks, and railway station were seized; the whole place, in short, passed into the hands of the insurgents. The Canton of Murcia was proclaimed. At the same time the crews of the six men-of-war in the harbour mutinied; their officers, who declined to throw in their lot with the men, were landed without molestation. Seville, Valencia, Granada, Malaga, and Cadiz similarly cast themselves off from the Government of the capital, as did other places; giving rise in most instances to scenes of bloodshed, nearly everywhere to incendiarism, pillage, and destruction of public property. Numerous Juntas of War or Defence, as they termed themselves, and Committees of Public Safety sprang into existence. When

confronted with this fresh and astounding danger, the Government had already on its hands the Carlist War, and at its disposal only an army very much impaired from want of artillery officers, and from the attempt, which so far had proved a failure, to substitute voluntary enlistment for compulsory service. The non-regular corps were merely as so much loose gunpowder scattered about a town in flames.

Valencia for a brief period only was able to maintain its independence. The usurped authority within the town passed, during the second half of July, from a Cantonal Junta into the hands of various other rival would-be governing bodies. While this confusion, in which militia and volunteers were mixed up, was in progress, a large number of the inhabitants showed themselves so little impressed with the advantages of autonomy that they fled the scene. The city so divided against itself submitted, at the end of three weeks' experience of self-government, to a force under Martinez Campos, after a few days' bombardment. Pavia, a determined and intrepid General, appointed to the command in Andalucia, arrived at Cordova in time to clip the wings of the insurrection there. On approaching Seville it was evident that a more formidable task awaited him. The town was fortified, and better supplied with artillery than the attacking force, which was some days in forcing an entrance, and was then further baffled by barricades in the streets and by the insurgents having, by means of petroleum, set fire to many of the buildings. On either side there were some three hundred casualties.

Very fortunately, at Cadiz, not only had the ships of war and a portion of the garrison remained faithful, but the insurgents were themselves divided as to a line of action. They soon fell to exchanging shots with one another. Consequently, the submission to Pavia of this formidable stronghold was readily brought about, as well as that of Malaga and of Granada. Six weeks or so—during July and August—had, with one important exception, sufficed to bring under this seemingly dismaying insurrection, which collapsed as much from the impracticability of its final aims as from an entire absence of any combined plans on the part of its leaders. Moreover, within the area of conflict there were fierce rivalries between certain cities as to which of them should become the capitals of the new Cantons. During the sackings, burnings, and general disorders which were evolved Carlists and Socialists worked in common to bring about a chaos of destruction.

The exception just spoken of was Cartagena—a fortified seaport town containing some hundreds of guns, supported in its revolt by the fleet, and commanded by a man of no small energy, Contreras, whom the vicissitudes of war and politics had raised early in life to high military rank, and now in July of this memorable year, 1873, to the Presidency of the Murcian Canton. He was able, with the six thousand men he had under arms, to dominate or ignore internal discords and rival Juntas, such as had proved so fatal elsewhere. As the Government could, for a time, allot to the siege only some two or three thousand men under Martinez Campos, naturally no impressions were made on the landward fortifications. Contreras, in fact, continued to appropriate supplies from the neighbourhood at the same time that he sent out his men-of-war upon cruises, of which the ostensible object was to strengthen and second the cantonal movement, but which were nothing else but visits of coercion and extortion. Almeria was bombarded because it declined to declare itself a canton, as well as to furnish men and 100,000 duros for the common cause. Motril was plundered. Alicante was visited more than once; it was bombarded, but afterwards drove off an attack of three of the rebel men-of-war.

These piratical aggressions brought about the intervention of those Powers which had men-of-war on the station. A first act was that one of the filibustering vessels was taken in charge by a German warship. Great Britain, France, the United States, and Italy were also represented there, as guardians of public order. They were determined that there should be no more bombardments of coast towns; they took up positions in the offing; and such further excursions as the Cantonal vessels attempted took place under a sort of police supervision by foreign men-of-war. On a treacherous attempt, from the shore, to take by surprise two of these would-be buccaneer ships when in custody, both were sent under British convoy to Gibraltar. After a while the Spanish Government itself succeeded in bringing upon the scene a small squadron, under Admiral Lobo. The insurgent vessels, Contreras commanding, sallied forth for a fight on October 11th, when, after a confused conflict and much wild firing amidst rain and mist, the assailants returned to their moorings. Three days later they again steamed out and invited a combat; whereupon, to the surprise of all, Lobo made off for Gibraltar, alleging as reasons that it was necessary for him to coal and await orders. About the first week in November a Spanish squadron was able to

commence a blockade of the place, and so affairs rested until the final scene of this Cantonal war.

Upon the land side the only important event was that a force of the besieged, two thousand strong, was despatched on the 11th of August to try conclusions with the troops of the Government. At Chinchilla, where they were confronted by Salcedo, they suffered a complete defeat, having turned about and fled almost at the first shot. They left three or four hundred prisoners behind them. After this the Government found itself in a position to increase the besieging force to a total of seven thousand men and fifty guns. Towards the end of November a bombardment commenced. Within, distrust and discontent were increasing as the chances of success faded. Contreras had been sanguine enough to hope that Cartagena would become a Central or Supreme Canton, to which the others would send their representatives. This found little approval; none whatever his procedure as an exponent of Socialistic equality and a common enjoyment of property. Although newspapers containing accounts of the collapse of the movement elsewhere had been interdicted, not only did the fact become well known, but, in spite of the so-called great naval victory over Lobo, there, plain enough, at their very harbour's mouth, was the humiliation of half the Powers of Europe, exacting compensations and laying down the law as to the movements of the Cantonal vessels.

Any merit due to Contreras consists in his having maintained himself in power as long as he did. For he inflicted compulsory exactions, imprisoned many of the leading citizens, and terrorised it generally over all who opposed him. Trade was at a standstill; all manner of enmities and rivalries were awakened; there were several partial risings. Yet he felt secure enough to liberate eighteen hundred criminals and draft them into the defending force. Less dangerous to any one was the fact that on one occasion he declared war against Prussia. By the beginning, however, of 1874 it was plain that the days of the siege were numbered. Already the volunteers had refused to do duty on the more exposed works. On the 6th of January the arsenal blew up, causing a loss of some hundreds of lives; on the 10th, Fort Atalaya, together with its garrison of three hundred men, fell to the besiegers, who entered the town a few days later under Lopez Dominguez, upon whom the command had finally devolved. Some two thousand five hundred of the insurgents, including the Junta of Defence, sailed out in

the *Numancia*, a Spanish man-of-war, and were landed in Africa upon French territory.

During this second half of 1873 the men who in succession became heads of Cabinets were Pi y Margall, as already mentioned, Nicholas Salmeron, and Castelar. They were in effect Presidents of the Republic, though not so designated; but the nature of the rule which circumstances drove them to adopt, and in which the Cortes upheld them, is most readily summed up in the fact that some writers speak of these tenures of office as Dictatorships, owing to the Suspensions of the Constitution and States of Siege which were their accompaniment. Pi y Margall, as soon as he was free to have a changed Ministry of his own choosing, turned somewhat to the Right—that is, to the moderate Republicans—but almost from the outset he felt the necessity of governing in the absolute way just spoken of. There soon developed itself in the Chamber an opposition of the slighted Left and of Irreconcilables, urged on by an outside Socialistic following. So vehement became their attacks, that Pi y Margall was prepared to offer these Ultras three portfolios. At the same time he himself, though imbued with a high sense of public duty, had none of those personal qualities which attract and hold together a party. In addition to disunion within itself, his Cabinet had on its hands the War of the Cantons in its most ominous phases. Its chief was fiercely attacked as the prime cause of the rebellion having made such headway; an accusation which had some foundation in the orders which certain Generals had received as to adopting conciliatory measures, notably in the case of Alcoy, where some fearful barbarities had been perpetrated. Cries of "Coward!" "Traitor!" "Confederate of the Rebels!" were hurled at him in the Chamber. His position became impossible; his own party was breaking up; there was no other which he could rally to his side. He resigned after less than six weeks of power, during which some forty Democratic Deputies went off avowedly to aid the insurrections in the provinces.

Immediately before this the projected new Constitution was submitted to the Cortes. As it never came into operation, it may suffice to sketch it in mere outline. There were to be seventeen Federal States or Cantons, including both those within the Peninsula as Aragon or Navarre, and others beyond it as Cuba and the Canary Islands. They were to have their own separate constitutions and governing bodies; each was to send to Madrid four Senators, and the Deputies were to be in

the proportion of one to every fifty thousand inhabitants. Practically every Spaniard had a vote at each class of election; but the President of the Republic and the Vice-President, who were to hold office for four years, were voted for through Cantonal Juntas.

Pi y Margall was succeeded as head of the Executive Power by Nicholas Salmeron, with a Cabinet in which some of its members were continued in office. He was a man of undoubted probity, and already as President of the Chamber had, by his political adeptness and suavity of manner, effected much towards controlling the outbursts of abuse, the wasteful verbosity, the impulse to demolish, the capricious restlessness, which characterised a Chamber not wanting in men earnest and patriotic, yet utterly unable to direct its energies towards any useful legislature. He was spoken of as the "Brain of the Revolution," yet it seems to have been known that when he accepted office he was already convinced that the Republic was doomed. Of this there was no trace in the assiduous way in which he strove to fulfil the duties of his onerous position. But, as with his predecessor, the agitators and fomenters of disorder could arraign him on unanswerable charges of failure. Spanish men-of-war were in custody at Gibraltar; Cartagena was in the hands of rebels; Don Carlos, King of the Basques. In less than two months his authority and adherents, in an Assembly divided into endless contentious factions, had vanished. The actual signal for his resignation was an all but adverse vote, relative to the imposition of the death penalty in cases of gross military insubordination, a measure which the officers themselves were loudly demanding, but which ran counter to Salmeron's personal feelings.

Castelar, who next, on the 8th of September, ascended to the unstable seat of Government, a man bolder and more masterful than either of his predecessors, bluntly told the Cortes that without absolute powers, civil and military, he too would quickly go by the board. These were assented to, as well as the adjournment of the Cortes from the 23rd of September until the beginning of the new year, 1874; a period during which, adding to the difficulties at home, Cuban affairs brought Spain to the verge of war with the United States, an entanglement from which escape was found only by giving way on every point, a severe political blow to Castelar at a time of such party excitement. All the country's adversities were made the most of by those struggling to push themselves into power, and by hot-

brained agitators, here in their glory amidst a general confusion which rendered government of any sort impossible. The Opposition, before the recess, had become a senseless one of groups dividing and subdividing, without any definite aim. If it now had one it was the overthrow of Castelar. Amongst means made use of, he was branded as a traitor because he employed Monarchist Generals who were willing to assist in quelling civil warfare, because he was working for a reconciliation with Rome, and because, with no small tact, he had as far as practicable reinstated the artillery officers who were averse to General Hidalgo, a very delicate matter.

Pi y Margall from a jealous rivalry, Salmeron on account of a disagreement as to policy, added themselves to the opponents of Castelar, who, on the assemblage of the Cortes, on January 2, 1874, saw plainly that his days were numbered. The capital was feverish with excitement, many inflammatory fly-sheets had been issued, crowds flocked to the arena of the coming conflict, in anticipation of startling developments. Castelar, in his opening speech, had nothing more reassuring to announce than that law and order were being maintained in those portions of the country which were not actually the areas of civil strife. Yet he had held full dictatorial powers for nearly four months : he now, after a confessedly successless control of affairs, asked for a continuation of those powers. An exceptional rule, he said, a military one, must prevail. This, of course, the battle-ground. The debate waxed hot : at an early stage of it Castelar stated his readiness to resign : a non-confidence vote—one hundred and twenty against one hundred—was carried.

At this juncture the amazing news ran through the Assembly that Pavia, Captain-General of Madrid, was marching upon the scene at the head of a body of troops. Salmeron flung a charge of complicity at Castelar, who as quickly denied it. Here a Staff officer entered and handed to Salmeron, as President of the Cortes, an order to break up the Assembly and vacate the building in five minutes. "This," asserted the mandate, "is done in order to put an end to a reign of anarchy." A hubbub of indignation and wrath arose. The members, including Salmeron, suddenly changed to a readiness to vote anything that Castelar might ask. Pavia was denounced and must be crushed ; but he himself and his troops were now in occupation. Some feeble declamations arose ; a few shots were fired, seemingly in accident or by way of effect ; there was a bare scuffle : the members vanished.

It was now morning. In a few hours Pavia had summoned the leading representatives of parties and opinions, civil and military alike—Constitutionists, Republicans, Radicals, and Monarchists—to combine and form a Government. Castelar, however, who was so invited to join, declined. Pavia, by pointing to the long existing anarchy and strife, had little difficulty in defending himself, to the satisfaction of most minds, for the extreme measures he had taken. He had so acted, he said, upon his own initiative, and impelled purely by a love of country; an assurance which was soon strengthened when it was seen that he made no attempt towards investing himself with the supreme authority. Madrid remained quiet—in fact, showed itself reassured by the change and the promises held out. From provincial authorities and from Generals in the field came approving messages.

Serrano was once more entrusted with the government of the country, as President of the Executive Power of the Republic. The Ministry, in which he held no portfolio, was representative of the Progressist, Unionist, Democratic, and Alfonsist parties. It included Sagasta—its ruling spirit and after awhile its President—Topete, and Martos. It contained only one out-and-out Republican. A decree formally dissolved the Assembly, which had just been so summarily turned out of doors. Ordinary, not Constituent Cortes were to be convened. The Constitution of 1869 was to be in force. For a year, however, Spain saw nothing of the former and little enough of the latter. Pavia and Serrano were, in some quarters, extolled as the saviours of the country. It was significant too that the Monarchist Press waxed jubilant, and confidently interpreted many ministerial expressions as evidently foreshadowing a restoration. To all this the key is perhaps most readily found in the words of Sagasta "A wholesome reaction has taken place." In other words, the Republic, together with the minority which had brought it into existence, had been falling into discredit. Above all there was a cry for peace and order in the land; and if this could be brought about under a dictatorship, the people seemed not disinclined to submit to one.

The remainder, then, of 1874, the second year of the Republic, pursued an uneventful course as to administration and politics. Serrano experienced little personal hostility; for parties were somewhat exhausted; individual leaders inclined to await developments; the irreconcilables and their papers were kept

within bounds. There was a Cabinet change in May, but only a partial one, as Zabala, who became Premier, and Sagasta had seats in both. While the views of some of its members were divergent enough, and there was no lack of contentiousness and schemings, these led to no open rupture; though on one occasion Sagasta seemed determined to bring one about, in asserting that the Republic was no longer practicable, that it must give place to a Monarchy, and that Alfonso could be reckoned upon for the continuance of Liberal principles. As we know now, there were other prominent statesmen who had this Prince much in their minds, at the same time that they were still constrained to harangue to their audiences on the blessings of a republic. As to the form it should take, this was another urgent matter upon which the Cabinet could come to no conclusion. A proposal indeed was widely discussed that the fate of Spain, as to its future government, should be submitted to a plebiscite: a venture which the Republicans believed would result in their triumph, and so ensure them a more legal standing, as well as a recognition by the other European Powers. All this time many parts of the country were much disturbed: there were clamourings for the non-existent Cortes, and the question of Union with Portugal again assumed prominence. Nevertheless, the feeling continued to gain ground that other measures might be left to take their course, while every nerve of the nation was strained towards bringing the Carlist War to a successful termination.

Such a determination was indeed a paramount necessity; for this same year—1874—brought to the Carlists several brilliant successes. It embraced the period when their star stood at its highest. We saw how, by the end of 1873, they had swept the Basque Provinces pretty well clear of their opponents, with the exception, an important one, of certain fortified towns. To capture and occupy one of these had throughout been an object of ambition to Don Carlos. Great would have been the prestige, no less the military advantage, accruing from the possession, say, of Vitoria or San Sebastian. At one time it seemed as if Tolosa would fall to them: its relief, however, by a Republican force was a creditable, if almost solitary, checkmating of a triumphant enemy. Many attempts had been made to seduce the troops in garrison; but they had proved staunch to their colours, and their safety had been further assured owing to the Carlists not having suitable siege material.

Now, however, early in 1874, the assiduity of the Carlists

against Bilbao, the problem of its relief or fall, began to draw towards the place no small general attention. The garrison consisted of some four thousand regular troops; but the course of the siege soon enrolled in a heroic defence, in which many women bore a conspicuous part, a considerable portion of its twenty thousand inhabitants. Its capture by the Carlists would have facilitated the landing of the supplies which partisans abroad and adventurous traders were bringing to the coast. The position of the town, nearly encircled by commanding elevations, favoured the enterprise; so that the Carlists, from at first occupying mere breastworks and keeping up a desultory fire on the place, before long began to construct regular batteries, equipped in some cases with guns of the latest pattern, presents from various quarters of Europe. In due course they brought twenty-five thousand men to the scene, took some outlying works, extended their activity down both sides of the Nervion, on which Bilbao is situated, captured Portugalete at the head of the estuary, and by the end of January had cut the town off from all communication with the rest of Spain.

Moriones, during the last week in February, was entrusted with the first attempt at relief in real force; a task which resolved itself into attacking, coastwise from the westward, a resolute enemy skilfully entrenched upon commanding positions. The venture, which was essayed on the 22nd and three following days, in the vicinity of Somorrostro and along the line of the river of the same name, failed completely. Moriones suffered a loss in killed and wounded of over fifteen hundred; the casualties amongst the defenders did not amount to more than a sixth of that number. Don Carlos was present at these operations.

Serrano himself now took over command from Moriones; but repairing losses and reorganising caused a delay of a month, an interval the Carlists did not fail to make use of in further strengthening their already formidable entrenchments, which at some points lay one above the other far up the mountain-sides. Unfortunately, the development of the next attempt was in part marred by tempestuous weather, or, as some critics say, by the mere threat of it, which drew back to Santona the men-of-war, under the cover of whose guns an accompanying force of about nine thousand men, commanded by Loma, was to have disembarked at Portugalete. A few days later, on March 25th, the enterprise was renewed, the fleet co-operating, but only with its fire. Again the vicinity of Somorrostro was the scene of

some excessively severe fighting, which continued during three successive days. The attack upon the fortified village of Murrieta proved particularly costly. Here Serrano, leading the advance through a storm of bullets delivered from the front and both flanks, seemed to bear a charmed life. His Generals Loma and Primo de Rivera both fell wounded; and the casualties, in this vicinity alone, amounted to two thousand in an attacking force of less than seven thousand men. Though a success could here be claimed, elsewhere the battle made little forward progress. In short, the Carlists triumphantly maintained the positions which they held.

Nothing daunted, Serrano urged the formation of an additional army corps, and recommended that the command of it should be given to the veteran Concha. Hence, by the time of the next great attempt, during the last days of April, Serrano, now with a command of some thirty thousand men, found himself strong enough to make a feint on the enemy's right, threaten with a turning movement their left, and strike determinedly at Munecaz, a formidable central position in the long inland-stretching line of Carlist entrenchments as they faced westwards. The assault, together with the pressure from the other positions taken up, effected a general success; but it was only after a four days' struggle that the Carlists were in full retirement, a movement which they executed, including the evacuation of Portugalete, with little loss. During these operations, which were in part conducted by night, the resistance was formidable only at certain points, though both sides on many occasions resorted to bayonet charges. Finally, then, was Bilbao, after a four months' siege, relieved, and at the eleventh hour, for even the bread supply had come to an end a week before. Concha, who chiefly planned and quickened the relief, entered it on May 2nd.

Serrano hastened back to Madrid, after handing over the command to Concha, who now, with his force in high spirits, determined on striking a blow at Estella, the Carlist capital as it may be termed. His route lay through Vitoria and Logrono. While marching he did much to give additional efficiency to his regiments, as well as confidence to localities which had long been dominated by the enemy. Upon entering Navarre, and continuing his progress towards Lodosa, there was evidence that the bulk of the men under arms in the province would disperse, should Estella fall.

That formidable stronghold was approached during the first

week in June. Occupied by the Carlists was Estella itself, on the river Ega, together with a mountainous ridge extending from the town : a position naturally strong, now made much more so by some eight miles of carefully constructed encircling entrenchments. A first success was gained by the seizure, on the 25th, of Monte Esquinza and other heights; then heavy rain caused a delay in forcing on the attack; the troops in position for it on the morning of the 26th could not be rationed, owing to a break-up of the roads : thus was revealed to Dorregaray, the Carlist leader, an intended feint, as well as the actual points of assault decided upon by Concha. Some satisfactory progress was, however, made by nightfall, when again wet weather prevailed. From this it resulted that it was afternoon of the following day before the general semi-surrounding onslaught, from the north and the east, had developed itself to the fullest. On the latter side, aiding the advantages—natural and artificial—of a defence conducted from an elevated site, there was an additional hindrance to the attacking troops from having to wade up to their waists through a stream temporarily swollen, here running parallel with the general line of the Carlist trenches.

A high wind and torrents of rain now swept over the scene, depriving the attack of much of the advantage which its commander expected to draw from his superiority in artillery. A confused and desultory combat—amongst brushwood, watercourses, and broken-up ground—ensued. Trenches were taken and retaken: bayonets were frequently crossed: with the result, however, that the general line of small bodies of men, into which the attempted ascent had soon divided itself, was everywhere driven back downwards and with considerable loss. Concha, after ordering and making some dispositions for a renewal of the attack, went forward himself, intent on a closer inspection of the Carlist positions. These he had reluctantly to acknowledge could not be assailed, with any reasonable chance of success, by his men in their present drenched, disheartened, and exhausted condition. Many of them had no food whatever throughout the day. It was now about seven o'clock in the evening. Concha spoke buoyantly to his Staff of a triumph on the morrow, and turned to descend the hillside: soon afterwards he was struck by a bullet which killed him on the spot. So ended a disastrous day; for unmistakably a decisive repulse had been experienced. The total casualties in the Republican force—killed, wounded, prisoners,

and missing—amounted to about two thousand. When night closed around the scene, a council of Generals decided that it would be but a useless sacrifice of life again to attempt, with the force now on the spot, the storming of Estella. A retirement to Tafalla was effected. After this ill-starred attempt, the war in the Basque Provinces continued uneventful until the end of the year 1874. The Carlists were indeed masters of the situation, though their want of cavalry precluded any active offensive beyond their own mountainous districts, and their weakness in artillery rendered their bombardments, except in the case of the smaller towns, somewhat futile. A severe winter further curtailed the operations, which demonstrated rather the general straits of the Government than the military prowess of the Carlists.

It is needful now to glance again at the state of affairs in eastern Spain. There, as mentioned, bands of brigands and robbers, in place of organised forces such as existed in the Basque Provinces, had at first to be dealt with. But it was there that the agitators for a republic had always had their strongest and most determined following; there, consequently, that their propaganda most easily found access to the ranks of the regular army, especially when it was preached that under a republic all compulsory service would cease. Naturally, then, when that form of government had been duly proclaimed, and month had succeeded month without these men finding themselves released from their obligations to serve, they displayed more and more an insubordinate spirit. Soon they proceeded to take the matter of their discharges into their own hands. They went off by the hundred; and as many of the officers were very lukewarm Republicans, or were Royalists at heart, frequently no efforts were made towards preventing the regiments from breaking loose from all discipline. In some instances the men flatly refused to march out against the Carlists; in others, the excesses they committed so terrified the inhabitants of districts that the latter were driven to inviting the Carlists to protect them, or to bribing their own troops to depart from the neighbourhood. Anarchy was heightened by Irreconcilables and Carlists making common cause against the Government. Hence, by the close of 1873, the Carlists were masters of all the open country lying between Andorra and the mouths of the Ebro. They had raided many towns and districts further afield, including Cuenca, eighty miles from the capital. No more regular troops could be

spared from the Basques or from before Cartagena; most of those already in the east were little better than a rabble.

But, owing to the absence of any comprehensive plan of campaign, to divergent individual interests, to jealousies, rivalries, and intrigues, the Carlists had not drawn any proportionate advantage from this favouring train of circumstances. Similarly, during 1874, they failed to reap any useful benefit from their successes in the east of Spain. Of these the chief only need be noted. Early in the year they captured Vich. A surprise near Olot, in March, left Savalls in possession of two thousand three hundred prisoners, one hundred horses, four guns, and four thousand rifles. There was an engagement in May, at Prats de Llusanes, where each side claimed the victory after each had sustained casualties amounting to about a thousand. A force under Don Alfonso captured Cuenca in July. This will be spoken of again presently. Enough here to mention that, owing to the nearness of the town to Madrid, and to the disaster following close upon that at Estella, great was the consternation of the Government. In August, Seo d' Urgel, containing fifty guns, fell to the Carlists, through a most daring venture of two hundred men in broad daylight. These successes were checkered with many repulses, chiefly in attacks upon towns; leaving, however, a substantial balance of victory with the Carlists, who thus obtained war material which was not readily to be had from any other source, for their partisans considered it more urgent, or found it easier, to send money and other supplies to the western end of the Pyrenees.

Still, the war in this quarter, while adding, of course, to the embarrassments of the Government, could scarcely be said to be bringing Don Carlos any nearer to the throne of Spain. On the contrary, the manner in which it was conducted unmistakably injured his prospects. In addition to the general plunderings of towns and districts, for no military purpose, many prominent citizens had been made prisoners merely with a view to ransom. For the same reason there were frequent instances of unoffending townspeople being forbidden to work, of having their water-supply cut off, or finding themselves subjected to other such spiteful molestations. It was seen that sometimes, after a place strategically important had fallen to the Carlists, no use was made of it. The treasure was seized and fought for amongst the raiders, who then no less readily broke up and made off, on the appearance of a succouring force which they might easily have kept at bay. A two years'

experience of combatants of this class had led to the evaporation of nearly all the original enthusiasm of the people, now indifferent almost to anything but the safety of their lives and their immediate belongings.

Don Alfonso, moreover, as Commander-in-Chief in eastern Spain, contributed to the cause absolutely nothing beyond his personality as the Pretender's brother. He had no aptitude for organisation, combinations, or combat. During six months he had quitted the Peninsula and taken up his residence in Perpignan; whereas a prince of another stamp in his position might, with the materials at his disposal, easily have given a changed complexion to the whole war. Around him had gathered the incompetent advisers, intriguers, and fanatics who seem to be inseparable from Carlism. In October, 1874, alleging as his reason his brother's redistribution of the commands, he resigned his own and retired from the scene. But another cause was that Don Carlos had upbraided him with his cruelty: a matter which leads us to a consideration of this feature in the war, generally.

Taking into account the protracted, desultory nature of the operations, and the passionate, vengeful element always latent in the Spanish character, the strife had not been greatly disgraced by bloodthirstiness. It certainly contrasted favourably with the former Carlist War. In Catalonia, however, there had been some barbarous acts, the chief offender being Savalls, who on one occasion shot about one hundred and eighty Republican prisoners, captured under ordinary circumstances during fighting. Certainly at the moment there was a local outburst of feeling, occasioned by the bodies of some Carlists having been found in a mutilated condition. Still, the deed was a pitilessly inhuman one. As to Don Alfonso, he indeed by proclamation directed a humane conduct of the war; but he not only took no measures towards enforcing it, he gave a distinct encouragement to cruelty. He patronised and advanced Cucala, a fiend who in the east perpetrated a series of atrocities similar, in their savagery, to those we saw Santa Cruz guilty of in the Basques. When Cuenca was captured, as briefly noticed above, a number of innocent people were ruthlessly slaughtered; and if the Prince and his wife did not actually personally encourage the murderers, as many writers insist was the case, they were certainly on the spot at the time and made no efforts to stay the bloodshed. In all this we have good grounds why Carlism should be falling into disfavour throughout Europe at this period.

Don Carlos had emphatically forbidden any shooting of prisoners, and in those provinces with which he was more closely associating himself, his injunctions were respected. His wife, by insisting that the wounded of either side should receive equal treatment in the Carlist hospitals, to which she gave much personal attention, humanely seconded this intention. Nevertheless, out of a body of prisoners captured at Estella, fifteen were shot, including two officers. There were charges against them of setting fire to standing crops, and to villages containing Carlist stores, all of which, however, seem to have fallen more or less within the area of the three days' fighting. Had the matter rested with Dorregaray, there is little doubt that he would have put to death the whole one hundred and thirty-five who were condemned. As it was, Don Carlos, who was at hand, was appealed to. He at once consented to decimation only; and it appears that, had it not been for the insistence of his advisers, he would have remitted altogether the death penalty.

Amongst the actual victims was a German captain named Schmidt, who, as far as can be ascertained, was wholly blameless. This gave an opening to Bismarck to head a crusade of public opinion against the Carlists and their methods of warfare. German gunboats appeared off the Biscay coast, and, after no long period, all the chief European Powers except Russia, discreetly avoiding the introduction of the word "Republic," had acknowledged Serrano's Government in Spain. If the latter was thereby little strengthened, Don Carlos, by the autumn of 1874, had certainly lost much of his hold upon the sympathies of the public in and out of the country.

Somewhat later—that is, during the last days of the year—the whole position in Spain became suddenly recast. Before the end of December Isabella's son, Alfonso, was proclaimed King by the army. After touching at Barcelona and landing at Valencia he arrived at Madrid on the 14th of January, 1875. The surroundings of that notable event may, however, conveniently be left to a later chapter, while the operations in the field against the Carlists are narrated to their close. In order to take a part in them the young King, now in his twentieth year, hastened to join a considerable body of troops which had been concentrated in the vicinity of Tafalla. Here, before the end of the month, he received his baptism of fire, and was seen exposing himself somewhat recklessly to the chances of a Carlist bullet. Here, too, it was his lot to have brought home

to him that his antagonists had as yet lost nothing of their daring and spirit. The movement under consideration was directed in a general way against Estella, and included giving freedom of approach to Pamplona, which was partially invested. As to the latter, the object in view was attained, but in the neighbourhood of Lacar and Lorca the Carlists inflicted a decided repulse upon their assailants, driving them back in no small confusion and panic. After this Alfonso visited Espartero in his home at Logrono, and conferred upon him the dignity of a prince. He then returned to his capital.

Wisely, now a determination was come to by the King's advisers that Estella, which had been yet further strengthened, and the northern Carlists generally were to be merely held under observation, while every effort was made towards a clean riddance of the state of insurrection in the eastern provinces. Here, mainly in Valencia and Catalonia, there were at this juncture some ten thousand Carlists, fairly strong in cavalry but without field artillery. Their leaders—Tristany, Lizarraga, and Savalls—were all capable enough men if they could have been induced to lay aside their personal rivalries and animosities; but, as throughout, pillage and exactions were the chief means by which they kept their bands in the field. According to the amount of license permitted so their numbers increased; and though, as touched upon, some great atrocities were committed, it is right to add that at this time the opposing commanders were in communication with a view to conducting the war according to the recognised principles of humanity. Engaged, without much success, during the first three or four months of 1875, in attempting the subjugation of these guerrillas were two main forces. Martinez Campos, with much the smaller of them, was conducting operations in the north-east corner of the Peninsula. Commanded by Quesada was the army of the centre, which, after deducting the contingents necessary to protect towns and forts, numbered about twenty thousand infantry, with twenty-four mountain guns and some weak bodies of cavalry.

Under the arrangement above mentioned, of strengthening King Alfonso's forces here by drawing upon Navarre and elsewhere, Jovellar, to whom the command was given, had under him in due course about sixty thousand men, with which total in June operations were in progress, directed towards sweeping these eastern Carlists bodily northwards. Success attended the movement. Dorregaray, at the end of a month, without

having suffered anything amounting to an actual defeat, found not only that he had to give way at every point, but that his whole force was in process of dissolution. He was driven to the Ebro, to the north bank of which he crossed on the 3rd of July, about sixty miles below Saragossa. He was at discord with Savalls, and presently betook himself with a portion of his force to join Don Carlos. Meantime Cantavieja and other places had been lost to the Carlists, who, however, held out stubbornly in Seo d' Urgel until nearly the end of August. Amongst the prisoners here captured was Lizarraga. Of the subordinate Carlist leaders, the majority either availed themselves of a proffered amnesty or crossed the frontier into France. By the end of November, 1875, these eastern auxiliaries of the Pretender, neither soldiers nor even respectable guerrillas, had been pretty well harried out of existence.

This gave freedom to the bulk of the large army which Alfonso now possessed for striking decisively at the much more formidable position of the Carlists in the north. Of this the heart had now, for two years, enjoyed an immunity from successful onslaught. Here Don Carlos reigned in sovereign state, with his Ministers of War, of Home and of Foreign Affairs. Here he had established regular arsenals and a mint, a university, a military and a medical college. There was a small railway in working order, as well as a postal and a telegraph service.

How disastrous 1874 had been to the antagonists of Don Carlos we have seen; also how Alfonso as King brought no immediate change in the run of fortune. Necessarily after this, during 1875, hostilities were in abeyance in the north, while a portion of the forces had been withdrawn from there for employment in the east. In July, however, near Trevino, in an action which was fought during the process of raising the blockade which the Carlists were imposing on Vitoria, the King's troops gained a success, which inflicted casualties to the amount of one thousand upon their adversaries. But the latter reversed results in October, near Lumbier, when operations were being undertaken with a view to maintain open the communications around Pamplona. All this time, chiefly upon the eastern end of the Biscay coast, desultory bombardments of towns by the Carlists, and of the places occupied by the latter from some Spanish men-of-war, were in progress. These need not detain us. Enough that another year drew to a close, and found Don Carlos still fully holding his own in the north.

His army here, at the commencement of 1876, amounted to some forty thousand men, while Alfonso had under arms a total of perhaps four times that number. With this superiority the Generals of the latter now essayed a vast encircling movement, commencing with an upward sweep from south to north. Quesada on the west was to push through Alava and Biscay; Martinez Campos on the east was to operate in Navarre; Moriones, from the vicinity of San Sebastian, was to afford what assistance he could to either commander. Quesada, marching from Vitoria at the end of January, reached Bilbao almost unopposed; thus bringing about a general retirement of the Carlists from western Biscay. He then swung round to the right and was victorious at Elgueta, the only considerable engagement which was fought in this final campaign, one of pressure of numbers rather than of conflict. Moriones, commencing operations a little earlier than Quesada, after some success with a force which he landed at Guetaria, attempted to dislodge the enemy from the position which he held confronting San Sebastian. The attack, made on the 29th of January, failed completely. The Carlists drove their antagonists from the scene and back into the town, which they bombarded for some days.

Martinez Campos also began his march at the same time. Quitting Pamplona on the 29th, he pushed with little hindrance into the Valle de Baztan and occupied Elizondo; an unexpected move which greatly disconcerted his opponents. At Estella, confronting the Carlists there, had been left Primo de Rivera, with instructions to keep engaged the attention of his enemy rather than assault the stronghold. But this General showed such enterprise that, by the 18th of February, after gaining a succession of advantageous heights, he had stormed Montejurra, a position which rendered Estella untenable. It was evacuated on the following day by order of Don Carlos. Important events elsewhere followed one another rapidly. Quesada, after his victory at Elgueta, marched unmolested into the heart of Guipuzcoa, destroying or gaining possession of the enemy's factories, mints, arms, ammunition, and other stores. King Alfonso joined him at this hour of general triumph, and entered Tolosa with him two days after the fall of Estella. By this time troops from San Sebastian had joined hands with those which had marched through the Valle de Baztan. Not only were the entire forces of Don Carlos thus encircled: the men began to lay down their arms or desert by whole regiments.

He himself, together with a remnant of some ten thousand of his men, crossed the French frontier on the 28th of February. So falls the curtain upon the Second Carlist War.

It had been prolonged to the spring of 1876 only by the continued weakness of the Central Government, from its incapacity and misfortunes. This had made possible the protracted siege of Bilbao and the dreary interval of nearly two years before the battle of Estella could be retrieved. For Carlism throughout had been threatened with internal dissolution. It was soon seen that the aims and interests of the individual provinces did not coincide. There was a tendency in each to set itself up as a separate state, and within each were many additional dissensions. Any, at all solid, military position which Don Carlos gained, through the capacity of his commanders, was undermined by their everlasting wranglings as to what was to be undertaken, and by their quarrels with the civil authorities. As to the Prince's more immediate advisers, there were few who were not ignorant and incompetent. Much of their time seems to have been occupied with disputes as to the posts they were to hold when Don Carlos became King. On one occasion all the officers of an important arsenal struck work: on another a military deputation informed the Prince that should Savalls be dismissed from his command there would undoubtedly be a revolt amongst his men. One bright gleam ever falls on this dismal panorama: the constant devotion of the rank and file. They received very small sums in the way of pay, while at the same time their families were being directly and indirectly taxed. Often they had to go into action with any chance class of firearm, and hungering for the rations which they had been robbed of by dishonesty. Few who knew what Carlism really meant for Spain can have wished it success: yet few can read of the heroic Carlist soldiers, in their own Basque lands, without pity that they had not a nobler cause and more worthy leaders to fight for.

CHAPTER XIII

ALFONSO XII. AND QUEEN CHRISTINA'S REGENCY

IN the preceding chapter the Carlist War has been narrated as to its final stages, apart as far as practicable from men and measures at Madrid. Something more is now needful concerning the train of events which carried Alfonso triumphantly to his capital as King of Spain. With Isabella's flight in 1868 there had naturally arisen a Restoration party; and this was befriended by many of the old Moderates. It had its Juntas and its co-operating Press; but, rightly or wrongly, the ex-Queen, together with the whole Bourbon dynasty, was held in such general aversion and contempt, that for some considerable time the various Governments, which in turn succeeded to power, could treat all such workings and manifestations with a tolerant disregard. Outside the Peninsula the supporters of the movement were more reputable: they included the Pope and the ultramontane influence in Europe generally, the French legitimists, as well as some of the dispossessed families of Italy. While all of these, however, were partisans of a restoration of Monarchy, some favoured the claims of Don Carlos.

In most of these projects, moreover, harmony of action was very much wanting, at the same time that Isabella in herself constituted a no small embarrassment. She was irresolute, inconsistent, unwilling to lend an ear to advice or suggestions. For a long time she was at feud with Montpensier. Surrounded by a baneful clique, she was living apart from her husband, with little regard for decorum in a social atmosphere which, it was protested, could not but prove injurious to her young son Alfonso. It was with great difficulty that she was in the end brought to recognise this, and to entrust the Prince to the care of his grandmother, Maria Christina, who further in some measure succeeded in allaying the various conflicting passions and interests. Isabella's household, too, in Paris was being

maintained in a ruinously extravagant fashion, and this at a time when money was urgently needed by some of her most devoted partisans. Lastly, it was well known that she had placed herself unreservedly in the hands of the Pope, who counselled her to enter into no arrangements with Montpensier. Hence many zealous Royalists declined flatly to visit the ex-Queen, or to be in any way associated with her.

While those who could have lent the most powerful influence towards a restoration of Monarchy in Spain were thus at variance, divers committees, Juntas, and individual schemes, intent upon the same object, came into existence. Though these effected little, and though at a General Election in 1872 only some ten Alfonsists could obtain seats, it is noteworthy that in the same year a manifesto was issued in favour of Alfonso signed by two hundred and thirty Grandees, Generals, Senators, Deputies, and other men of position. Montpensier was proposed as Regent: he had by this time declared in favour of the Prince, who was not born till 1857. Serrano, during his exile in 1873, had worked on behalf of Isabella; but had soon been driven from his task, as he states, by her caprices and double dealing. At the latter he was himself no inexpert hand, and was generally suspected of having an eye towards his own election as President of the Spanish Republic, or even towards becoming king of the country. There had been overtures from some ardent Monarchists in Spain to Don Carlos, even in the midst of the war, and he had at one time professed that he was prepared to go hand in hand with the Conservative parties, in ousting the demagogues who dominated the situation, and that he was willing to submit to a plebiscite the questions regarding the throne and Constitutional government.

But the victories of Don Carlos, unless they were to carry him at the head of a triumphant army to Madrid, merely intensified the desire for his overthrow. In connection with his military chances it is to be noted that the artillery officers who were dismissed as a whole, an invaluable body of men, agreed at first to act in unison. When, however, it came to the point later, they were found to be divided as to partisanship between Alfonso and Don Carlos. Cabrera then opened their eyes as to certain incidents connected with the private life of the latter Prince and his administration; upon which for the most part they declared in favour of Alfonso. There was the general course of events, too, plainly working for a restoration: the faults and misfortunes of the Governments which had followed

Amadeus; the complete discredit into which the Republic was falling; the fickleness of the Spaniards, their readiness to return to their first love—a Monarchy. A large proportion of the people thus began to incline hopefully towards Alfonso, who chose an opportune moment for issuing a declaration to the effect that he was a good Spaniard, as well as a no less sincere Catholic and a Liberal. Even within the Cabinet this general feeling of the country began to be shared: the most ready and active friends of the Prince waxed jubilant over it, but still at the end of 1874 did not, chiefly on account of his age, consider that his hour was come. The shrewdest amongst them limited themselves to proclaiming that no reactionary measures should follow, in the event of the re-establishment of Monarchy.

Further, and this a very important consideration, there was in the field an army which for two years had been fighting under a republic. Of the majority of the officers it may be said that, from originally merely wishing to be quit of Isabella and her disreputable rule, they had then in a general way floated with the current of the times. They were at this juncture somewhat ahead of it in regard to Alfonso. From about the period of the relief of Bilbao manifestations in his favour had occurred in garrisons or camps, and circulars to the same purport had been passed around. The men as they marched often sang Royalist songs. Concha, it is stated, had determined, should he be successful at Estella, to proclaim the Prince forthwith. A conviction certainly had place in the minds of many of the Generals that with the change of flag could be brought about a higher military spirit amongst their troops. Still, there were many others who, promoted under a republic, might all at once find their prospects blighted, equally by a successful or an abortive attempt to overturn the existing rule. Moreover, of the troops under arms a large number were local militia, and it was difficult to say how these, especially such as were drawn from the more distinctly Republican provinces, would regard the venture; and many of these corps had been enrolled sufficiently long to bring them into favourable comparison with their regular brethren.

While prudent men were thus, towards the end of 1874, acting with circumspection, suddenly notable events began to follow one another in rapid succession. The Ministry received information that Martinez Campos was preparing a restoration movement amongst the troops in the capital. Orders for his arrest were given to Primo de Rivera, the Captain-General, but,

upon the most solemn assurances of the latter that all such suspicions were without foundation, no action was taken. Martinez Campos then went off to Murviedro, where a brigade of the army of the centre was quartered. At his exhortation the men, on December 29th, proclaimed Alfonso. The Captain-General of Valencia, the province in which this took place, while ostensibly discountenancing what was in progress, in reality acquiesced in it. Jovellar, who commanded the army of the centre, and was near the town of Valencia at the moment, promptly seconded Martinez Campos, announcing that he was influenced by patriotism, that his men were all eager for Alfonso as king, and that the step he had taken would most readily serve the interests of the army by promoting unity, order, and discipline. It now became patent that Primo de Rivera and Martinez Campos had, for some time, been working up the plot hand in hand. A cautious double game had been played; the Madrid garrison was seemingly doing duty as usual, at the same time that it was being tampered with in private. The Captain-General, having an eye to the future, purposed that the overt act should originate at Madrid, with himself as its directing genius.

If he was a day too late, he yet played an important part. The Minister of War was aroused from his sleep on the morning of the 30th and found himself under guard. Primo de Rivera was plainly enough master of the situation. The Cabinet was paralysed. Some arrests were indeed made, and a proclamation was issued to the effect that the disaffection was confined to one brigade only of the central army, while that of the north and the troops elsewhere continued to be loyal to the Government. Serrano, who held the northern command and was at Tudela, was sounded by telegram as to the situation. He replied that if he could rely on the fidelity to himself of a portion of his force, the men would not go to the length of conflict with one another. He added, truly enough, that to stir up strife between Republicans and Alfonsists was simply to ensure the success of the Carlists.

Then at Madrid, during the afternoon of the 30th, the form, or rather the farce, was gone through by the War Minister and the Captain-General of visiting the various barracks in order to ascertain the disposition of the troops. They were reported to be nearly all ready to proclaim Alfonso; those that were not would certainly refuse to act under arms against their garrison comrades. In the evening Primo de Rivera announced to the

Cabinet that a deputation, representative of all the corps in Madrid, awaited an audience. He himself headed it, and asserted not only that the whole of the troops in the capital had made common cause with the movement, but that a change of Government must take place. Sagasta protested; noting, however, that he was confronted with an adverse assemblage, he prudently effaced himself. A crowning to the discomfiture of the Ministry was that Serrano telegraphed, counselling them to follow the lead given by the army. He himself withdrew into French territory. Then went forth messages to all in authority: "Alfonso proclaimed by Armies of North and Centre, and by Madrid garrison." It was added that Spain was jubilant with enthusiasm, a somewhat premature assertion; no great city, no political party, had as yet demonstrated its joy at the restoration of Monarchy. The bulk of the people were, rather, astounded and taken aback at the news; they seemed indifferent, possessed of a desire to hold aloof and remain in quietude.

Towards this bestowal of the crown upon Alfonso no man had worked more assiduously than Canovas del Castillo. He it was who had guided the young Prince's course of action, and had drawn up most of the manifestoes which appeared in his favour. Yet the suddenness of the explosion when it took place somewhat staggered him. When he heard of the part played by Martinez Campos he exclaimed that he had been too precipitate, that all now would be lost. His own aim was that the Prince should come at the general supplication of the people, given expression to through the Cortes. The army had anticipated that. He now, by assuming powers conferred upon him by Alfonso during the summer of 1873, found himself, in short, Regent, and set about the formation of a Cabinet. This, an accomplished fact on the last day of 1874, was intended to stand for coalition and conciliation: moderate Liberalism, Conservatism and Absolutism were represented: two members, Ayala and Romero Robledo, had been prominent in the September revolution. Additional aid of an influential nature was further assured by the announcement that friendly intercourse with the Holy See was about to be resumed, and that the clergy would be protected.

Alfonso was in Paris when these declarations in his favour made such sudden headway. Marshal MacMahon, and other distinguished personages there at the moment, hastened to give publicity to their approval. The blessing of the Holy Father

having been asked and granted, the Prince, who was his godson, hastened towards his kingdom. Spanish war vessels escorted him from Marseilles. After a brief sojourn at Barcelona, he landed at Valencia, and on January 14, 1875, arrived at Madrid, where, as had been the case throughout his journey, he was hailed with wild and undoubtedly sincere acclamations of joy. He had now just entered upon his eighteenth year : had at first shared his mother's exile in Paris, and had afterwards been educated in Vienna and at the English military college at Sandhurst. His two visits to the scene of operations against the Carlists have been noticed : from the second he returned to the capital together with twenty thousand of his victorious troops.

On landing, after he had confirmed Canovas and his conciliation Cabinet in power, Alfonso announced that he had come to rule as a Constitutional king. He further declared that religious freedom should be established ; a subject which soon gained a passionate prominence, and proved a troublous one throughout the reign. The Papal Nuncio, who arrived in May, was received with the highest honour. With him came further blessings from Rome for Alfonso XII., and for the Spanish people generally. But not so acceptable to some of the latter was the claim for the re-establishment of the Concordat of 1851, which excluded the exercise of religions other than the Roman Catholic. Properly enough, a promise was made that the clergy should have their arrears of salary made good to them. This mood, however, of concessions to the Vatican encouraged many ecclesiastics to a display of bigotry, which evoked no small resentment amongst some of those Powers which had hastened to acknowledge Alfonso. Action on the part of Great Britain and Germany alone prevented a general closing of Protestant churches and schools. Plainly around the throne were gathering counsellors little enough disposed to advise conciliation or to accept half measures. Unfortunately there were not wanting those extremists, who would have turned back the clock to the days of Ferdinand VII., or even of Philip II. The Civil Marriage Law was repealed ; education passed into the hands of the Church ; trial by jury was set aside, together with most of the open-court procedure which had been introduced since 1868.

No Cortes sat during 1875 ; and with the war still in progress political currents are hard to trace, beyond their control by a healthy desire to solidify the Monarchy, and, as mentioned, to bring the Carlists forthwith to their knees. In May elections

were promised, and committees sat during the year evolving a Constitution. Meanwhile that of 1869 was nominally in force, practically it was in abeyance. Government was by decrees. Some restrictions, necessary enough, were placed on the Press, and a few professors, with much less show of justice, were dismissed from the universities for their liberal views in regard to education. Castelar's protest was to quit the country. With the exceptions touched upon, the King and his ministers may be credited with a determination that there should be no openings for vindictiveness or reprisals. They had the support of grandees, clericals, and of many who had sat as Senators or Deputies; with a result than an amicable quietude began to establish itself in the country. Upon two important questions, however, universal suffrage and religious liberty, action could not be delayed. As a section of the Cabinet was averse to the former, and as, in regard to the latter, the undertaking with Rome was at variance with the professions made to the country, Canovas and his immediate followers retired in September, 1875.

Before the collapse of the Carlist War, which, as we have seen, took place in February, 1876, he was again in power. The Cortes, assembled in the same month and elected by universal suffrage, placed at his disposal a very large majority. Radicals and Republicans were practically effaced; though several men who had at one time been prominent members of Carlist Juntas soon found seats in one Chamber or the other. The twenty years following the landing of King Alfonso very nearly coincide with the period between the first accession of Canovas to the Premiership and his last in 1895. Except for three brief intervals, either he or Sagasta held the post during the whole of that time, which, within the Peninsula, was one of comparatively uneventful quietude. Their tenures of office were nearly equal. Broadly speaking, the two statesmen may be said to have stood, respectively, for Conservative and Liberal principles. Here, then, we have an alternation of Cabinets representing definite aims and opinions. Nevertheless, we find no ceasing of the tendency in the country towards many divisions and subdivisions of political parties. On the contrary, a full and detailed account of all those which had existence during the period under review would have to refer to Moderates, Liberals, Radicals, Fuerists, Fusionists, Possibilists, Carlists, Clericals, Catalonists, Liberal Dynastics, Autonomists, Federalists, and some other classes of Republicans. Nor does

this by any means exhaust the whole list. Still two main opposing currents, Liberalism led by Sagasta, and a not very hurtful reaction under Canovas are distinct in direction throughout.

First, then, as to the Premiership of Canovas, nearly uninterrupted for six years, and ending early in 1881. The evolution of a Constitution formed the great political work of 1875 and the following year. No less than six hundred former Senators, Deputies, and others, including men who had sat in all manner of Cortes, were in the first instance invited to assist; though soon a committee was entrusted with the further development of this new Code, which finally received the royal signature in June, 1876. By it Spain was declared to be a Constitutional Monarchy. In the Senate were to sit of their own right certain grandees, dignitaries of the Church, and State officials, together with life members chosen by the Crown, as well as elected members. The Lower House, composed of one Deputy for each fifty thousand of the population, was to be elected by universal suffrage; but the question of the franchise was quickly reopened, and only set at rest after many fierce discussions, lasting through several years to come. In most respects this new Constitution was a compromise: it was modelled after that of 1869, with its democratic clauses softened down, and was certainly more liberal than the 1845 Code. Upon the subject of arrests, domiciliary visits, change of residence, special courts, public meetings, association, and the latitude permissible to prisoners in defending themselves, its provisions were somewhat vague, and conveyed the impression that these articles had been purposely so formulated. What was given openly with one hand, its opponents asserted, could readily be stolen back furtively with the other; and this plain enough was already a characteristic of the existing administration in regard to the Church, the Press, education and the local governing bodies.

First arose an acrimonious contest over the religious question. Archbishops and bishops were seen to be as obstinately opposed to any concession as in the days of Isabella II. The controversy was embittered owing to many priests having exerted their influence in favour of Alfonso, in expectation of a full restoration of their former privileged positions. Apprehensive of disappointment, frequently accused or denounced in the Cortes, these men could scarcely be expected to display a passive attitude; especially as the Pope based insistence, on his part, on the fact that Canovas had undertaken to be guided by the above alluded to Concordat.

The ministers of the forty or so Protestant Churches, which were to be found in the Peninsula, were frequently in fear of molestation, and the clamour continued for the summary closing of the places of worship under their charge. It was only after lengthy and frequently very rancorous debates that toleration gained the day, by substantial majorities, however.

Discussions, next perhaps in importance, were those which took place during 1876 and the following year in regard to the Basque problem. Finally it was ruled that these provinces, while retaining their old forms of local and constitutional government, were to be placed upon the same footing as the rest of the Peninsula as to taxation and a liability to military service. This compromise was put forward with a laudable desire to conciliate a brave people, and at the same time act with justice towards the country as a whole. As was to be expected, agitators were soon declaiming that the Basque people had been deprived of all but the merest shadow of their rights and privileges. A feeling of humiliation, even of consternation, was thus spread through these provinces: local bodies refused to accept the decision of the Cortes, and were supported by many of those Liberals who had been most eager for the active prosecution of the war. Canovas, however, exercised so judicious a firmness that, after the lapse of a year, the voices of the malcontents had fallen to insignificance. A comprehensive amnesty was extended to the officers and men who had served under Don Carlos. Sequestrations were rarely enforced.

In 1877 a small storm in a teacup commenced to blow, upon the approach of King Alfonso's marriage. His choice had fallen on his cousin, Mercedes, a daughter of the Duke of Montpensier. At this the whole nation took umbrage, although the Princess was altogether Spanish in her tastes and habits, and it was known that the betrothal had arisen from the sincerest mutual affection. The aversion was towards her father: grandees and prelates disliked his Republican associations: he sinned in the eyes of the people because lavish ostentation was little to his taste, no less than because he managed his estates upon a business-like principle, by which they were a source of revenue to him. His duel, moreover, was not forgotten. Unfortunately, after five months of married life, during which she had risen rapidly in the estimation of the nation, the young Queen died in May, 1878, with a suddenness which plunged the whole country into the most heartfelt sorrow.

Towards the close of the following year, reasons of State plainly dictating that there should be little delay, the King married again. His chosen bride was Maria Christina, a niece of the Emperor of Austria, a princess gifted with a kind heart and excellent disposition. Later she exhibited, in very trying circumstances, much nobleness of character. Her retiring ways, due in part to a love of art and music, caused her, notwithstanding her excellent carriage in public, to be at first misunderstood by the people. For years indeed they evinced, in her case, their usual dislike to foreigners, and seemed indifferent to the fact that, under her influence, the social surroundings of the Court continued to be changed, altogether, since the days of Isabella. During the life of her husband, while proving herself a devoted wife and loving mother, she held aloof from all interference in political affairs. In the last week of 1879 her courage and self-possession were witnessed in public, as, when accompanying her husband in a carriage without escort, several shots were fired at them from quite close proximity. The King, too, became more and more thoroughly popular; a circumstance in no small degree attributable to his liberal education, which showed itself in his freedom from bigotry, and in the encouragement he gave to full discussions upon all political questions. He saw clearly the backwardness of his country, especially in military efficiency. When an attempt, previous to the one above alluded to, was made to assassinate him, it was with great difficulty that he could be induced to sign the death-warrant, although the culprit made a parade of his guilt.

No other event calling for special mention occurred until the termination of this administration, early in February, 1881. By this time Canovas, as its head, had most of the political parties to some extent up in arms against him. There had been suspensions of the guarantees, and states of siege enjoined for several localities. Certain Generals, too, were summarily dismissed. At this the Senate was aroused; Sagasta's party withdrew from the Cortes; and a cry was raised throughout the country that the absolutism which had led to the revolution of 1868 was being reintroduced. Manifestations were frequent against the King himself. The Court was alarmed; and the royal assent was refused to a financial proposal which aimed at making the ministers for some time practicably immovable. Whereupon they resigned, and Sagasta became Premier.

That Canovas owed his long tenure of office to his own political tact and dexterity is clear enough. For in the multi-

plicity of parties, or rather groups, and their readiness to attach and detach themselves, in regard to any chance leadership, he had always a difficult hand to play. In religious matters he was somewhat of a freethinker; a frame of mind not without its advantage, where he had to keep the peace amongst politicians ranging from extreme ultramontanes to a Left which declared that no good government was possible, in Spain, until the education of the people was taken wholly out of the hands of the priests. And genuine cause for a clamour against the latter was not, as already touched upon, wanting. In 1877 the service in a Protestant church in Madrid was stopped, and the congregation turned out of doors. Nor was this by any means an isolated case: indeed, in certain districts the Protestants found as much difficulty, in pursuing their devotions, as the Covenanters had experienced two hundred years before in Scotland.

Canovas encountered only an honest opponent in Sagasta, who, while supporting the King and acquiescing in the Constitution of 1876, declared openly his intention to try and ingraft upon it as much as possible of that voted for in 1869. Alfonso undoubtedly was popular, the country, including the army, essentially loyal. In these circumstances Republicanism seemed likely to fall gradually out of sight and mind. Many of its leaders were at heart above all things patriotic, it is true; but so many amongst them were mere enthusiastic visionaries, men seized with some form of self-conceit, each clamouring for his own ideal, that failure and dissolution remained inevitable. Under various forms, however, Republicanism continued to assert itself by meetings and speeches. The Federalists, while accepting a Monarchy, were still contending for a complete governmental separation of provinces and cities. More intelligible seemed the aims of the Regionists towards the formation of Administrative Divisions, intended to take into account the former separate kingdoms of Spain, the present existing differences of dialect, old traditions, manners, and customs. As heretofore, this inclination for dismemberment was strongest in Catalonia, where a numerous party still advocated the erection of their own independent kingdom. Finally, there were some extreme separatists who went so far as to declare that annexation to France would be preferable to the present centralisation at Madrid.

The Carlists, with the restoration of the Monarchy, lost the partisanship of the Pope, as well as of most of their other sympathisers outside the Peninsula. Within it, the by that time

well-known Divine Right ideas of Don Carlos, and his leanings towards the Ultramontane party, together with the still fresh bitterness remaining from the civil war, caused his very name to be abhorrent to a great number of Spaniards. Still, the Carlist leaders continued to lay their schemes, and soon found an unlooked-for fellow-intriguer. Isabella II. had revisited Spain in 1876, but her sojourn there was scarcely a happy one. She had some violent scenes with her son in regard to his projected marriage, and, on several occasions, the manifestations of the Spanish people towards her were the reverse of cordial. Her umbrage at this found vent, on her return to Paris, in a public display of intimacy with the wife of Don Carlos. She may perhaps have actually furthered his plans; but more probably she merely gave way to an indulgence of pique, and of a little underhand manœuvring. At all events her pension was stopped; and as Don Carlos, somewhat later, gave publicity to an aggressive defence of the abolished Fueros, and was seen to be associating with the Portuguese Pretender of the period, he was ordered to quit France. The Queen-Dowager, Christina, who also visited Spain after the Restoration, died at Havre in 1878.

Canovas, then, had to keep a watchful eye upon various possible disturbers of peace and order, during his first Premiership, continued to the end of six years, though the period, as alluded to, was not quite unbroken. Jovellar held office for two or three months in 1875; and in March, 1879, Canovas considered it expedient that he should retire, owing to the state of affairs in Cuba. A short connected account of the revolutions there will be given in another chapter: enough for the moment that, after many years of civil strife, Martinez Campos was sent to the island in 1876 as Commander-in-Chief. His ostensible success was noticeable in the fact that, on his return, he was greeted as the Pacificator. In reality promises, not unaided by bribery, had effected the peace of which he was enjoying the credit. His measures included the total abolition of slavery, and considerable concessions as to self-government. In order that he might be in a position to vindicate these at home, he took over the proffered Premiership, together with some of the associates of Canovas. But, though fresh elections brought to his aid a large majority, it soon became evident that the Cortes and the country alike were in opposition to his Cuban policy. The Press of all shades condemned it as too radical, as far too generous, as tending infallibly to encourage the island to throw

off the sovereignty of the mother country. Towards the close of the year he was no longer supported, even by his own Cabinet; at the end of it he had been replaced by Canovas, who, as already mentioned, was succeeded by Sagasta in February, 1881.

The latter remained at the head of affairs until towards the close of 1883, a period during which he maintained himself in power by a judicious, and it may be said salutary, trimming of the political balance. He found himself compelled to take heed of the Conservative elements, in and out of the Cortes, and thus to obtain some support from the palace party. The King indeed, himself, and the country generally were not unwilling that there should be an introduction of Liberal measures. On the other hand, Sagasta buoyed himself up with the assistance of the old revolutionary factions, while yet clearly seeing how far he ought to go in this direction. In his Cabinet as Minister of War was Martinez Campos, who had a somewhat strong personal following, and who during his brief rule had advocated several projects of an advanced type, including the gradual separation of Church and State. Civil marriage, universal suffrage, the right of association, trial by jury, a fuller latitude to prisoners when defending themselves, he or his party had contended for, and had declared that they would oppose every attempt at an infringement of full religious toleration, of Press privileges, or those of provincial bodies and the electorate. In regard to the clerical party, Sagasta found it needful to be exceptionally firm; one result of which was an excommunication of all the Ministerial journals. As to the more forward Republicans, in addition to the discredit they suffered from their Socialist following, many people believed them to be chargeable with the attempted assassinations of the King. The hopes, too, of Carlism suffered no small blight in 1883 from a fiat of the Pope, who ordained that Don Carlos was to receive no support from the priesthood in Spain.

Notwithstanding these auspicious omens, in August, 1883, while Sagasta still held the reins of government, a military insurrection, from some of its features extremely disquieting, ran a brief course. Zorrilla, now in exile but to the last an out-and-out Republican, and ready at any moment to plunge his country into civil war in furtherance of his designs, was doubtless a chief mover in it. The signal was given at Badajoz, where the acting Captain-General and the military commander were seized. Though in a very few days the insurgents on the

spot were either disarmed or had fled the scene, it was revealed that some hundreds of officers and men were in the plot, which had ramifications in nearly every province, and indeed gave birth to smaller ebullitions in Seo d' Urgel and Barcelona. Plainly enough a portion of the conspirators aimed at overthrowing the Monarchy and re-establishing a republic. Investigation proved that a great number of secret societies, altogether unsuspected by the Government, were in existence.

Unhappily the Continental tour of King Alfonso gave rise, later in this same year, to a very mortifying incident. At Berlin the colonelcy of a regiment of Uhlans had been conferred upon him by the German Emperor ; soon afterwards, on the King proceeding to Paris, the fact of this appointment gave rise to a violent demonstration against him in the streets, where he was hooted by the mob. At Madrid the affair led to a Ministerial crisis, which, together with the Badajoz commotions, jeopardised Sagasta's position, already weakened by an agitation against a contemplated sale of Crown lands, and the proposed substitution of affirmations for oaths in certain cases. Add to these that Sagasta had reluctantly to confess that the Spanish people were not, as yet, fitted for universal suffrage.

He retired in October, 1883, after having in difficult circumstances, amidst many conflicting parties, not merely proved himself an able parliamentary tactician ; he had also worked hard for the advancement of his country, which under him, notwithstanding an affliction of famine in 1882, made no small progress in material prosperity. It was his misfortune that, in negotiating commercial treaties, the communities who fancied their interests threatened showed such a lamentable readiness to encourage dynamite and bomb outrages. The states of siege, which were a consequent necessity, quickened the lessening of his popularity. Posada Herrera followed with a somewhat democratic Cabinet, and a series of conformable proposals, including a complete recast of the Constitution. Universal suffrage and the introduction of certain Free Trade measures were also promised. But as he was not long in discovering that he could barely depend even on his immediate supporters, much less on the Cortes or the country at large, his administration lasted for little more than three months.

Canovas del Castillo now obtained another lease of power, during which nothing memorable occurred until November, 1885, when Alfonso XII. died of consumption, undoubtedly

most sincerely regretted by a sorrowing nation. He had striven to abide honourably by his promise, that he would govern as a Constitutional king. He allowed his chief minister always a free hand as to the choice of colleagues, and stood by his Cabinets as long as they retained the confidence of the country. In avoiding all public bias for any of the contending parties he had displayed a judicious tact, and it was owing to his known personal characteristics that the many dangerous factions, to which the flight of Isabella had given rise, rallied again around a throne. Wherever there was suffering caused by earthquakes, floods, or other calamities, he rarely failed to betake himself to the scene of the distress, and there show himself untiring in his personal efforts to relieve the afflicted. His having determined furtively, against the wishes of his ministers, to visit the sick in hospital during a visitation of cholera in 1885 provoked a Cabinet crisis.

Upon his death his children were two daughters only; but, to the immense joy of the nation, with the exception, of course, of the Carlists, a son, Alfonso XIII., was born a king in the following May. In accordance with the Constitution the Queen became Regent, and readily obtained a strengthening of her position from the most prominent leaders of parties, though within the royal circle some unseemly quarrels arose from a contention that the deceased King's sister had a prior right to the Regency. The clerical party claimed it for Isabella II.

By this time the position of Canovas, seemingly unassailable in January of the previous year, was weakening. Accusations of reaction and clericalism were being directed against him by his opponents, who, as usual, gave him no credit for having proved another salutary dam to a current, threatening ever too quick a flow towards that complete sovereignty of the people which the Democrats were crying out for. He had other difficulties to contend with. There had been several severe visitations of nature, producing their wonted conditions of lawless discontent. Conspirators of various classes continued their activities; and a dispute with Germany, arising from the latter annexing some of the Caroline Islands, made necessary an apology, as the German Legation in Madrid had been attacked. Canovas, however, gave the death of the King as a reason for resigning, and recommended as his successor Sagasta, who remained in power until midway in 1890—that is, for a period of nearly five years—though on several occasions his fellow

ministers were wholly or partially changed. Here, with a General Election in 1886, we may notice the system which had now fully established itself in Spain, of a Premier allotting, before the actual polling, the number of seats he proposes that each party should occupy. Thus Sagasta fixed what his own majority was to be, how many votes Canovas was to have, how many the Dynastic Left, the Republicans, and the Carlists. On the elections taking place this prearranged distribution of party power was seen to verify itself with a most satisfactory accuracy. The system still holds good.

Sagasta's Administration had not long run its course before there was plain evidence that the days of military outbreaks were not yet to be counted with the past. Early in 1886, at Cartagena, there was a conspiracy of Republican origin, which, however, drew over to itself a certain number of soldiers quartered there. After they had gained possession of the Castle of San Julian, the plot proved to be an isolated one, having the support of no Republicans of note, though during the suppression of it the military Governor, General Fajardo, was shot by the insurgents while directing the operations against them. More serious was the success which, in September of the same year, attended an attempt of revolutionaries to suborn the Madrid garrison. For awhile mixed mobs of soldiers and civilians were masters of the streets, and held possession of the railway station. Count Mirasol and General Velarde lost their lives while attempting to restore order. Brigadier Villacampa, a lieutenant, and some subordinate officers were sentenced to death ; about three hundred soldiers of inferior rank to penal servitude for life. The extreme penalty was not inflicted, owing, in a great measure, to the compassionate urgings of the Queen-Regent. In the other cases, it is to be noted, so little were such lenient sentences expected from the courts-martial, that certain cemeteries had been selected where a considerable number of victims were to meet their fate. As the ministers themselves were divided in regard to the question of punishments, the Cabinet underwent a nearly total change.

Sagasta, on obtaining the reins of government, had drawn to himself some of his predecessor's followers, as they accused their chief of an unnecessary relinquishment of office. He then published a liberal amnesty for political offences, reversed certain of the late judgments against the Press, and released some journalists from prison. Still, even after the General Election above alluded to, his hold upon the Cortes, from a sort

of Left Central position, was anything but impregnable. The ultra-Radical wing was only ready to support him provided he continued to bring forward measures which came up to their ideals. Its members might any day coalesce with the Right, the groups of which, however, bearing a variety of names, seemed little enough inclined to agree as to a common policy. Sagasta's real strength lay in the essential fact that, upon any contentious point likely to affect the stability of the throne, he could rely upon a vote of confidence, which represented the voice of the country as well as of the Cortes. So much so that Castelar and the most discerning men of his party were, with a strange association of names, known as Monarchical-Republicans, and that their extremists, such as Zorrilla, who agitated for an appeal to force, together with Intransigeants and Socialists, ceased almost altogether to give real anxiety to the Government.

To this stability of affairs the Queen-Regent herself in no slight degree contributed. Ministers already knew that she possessed ability and tact; they soon discovered that her political insight was essentially sound; that her inclinations were based upon what she believed to be the real interests of Spain. She readily gained their confidence, and invariably acted in thorough good faith. The people saw that she had risen superior to misfortune; that her private life was the very reverse of that of certain of her predecessors. All classes, after awhile, regarded her with an affection which, as we have seen, was before withheld. As time went on this good impression had its value abroad. At home, a Court party which had intrigued always to weaken and get rid of Sagasta was silenced. Christina saw that his policy corresponded fairly to the aspirations of the country, so she gave him a free hand as to his measures. Of these the full establishment of universal suffrage, to which at one time he had been opposed, was the most notable. With this achievement his name will always be associated. Canovas led a resolute Opposition. The question was debated almost continuously throughout 1889, and in the following year received the Royal Assent. Now, in brief, every Spaniard of twenty-five, after two years' continued residence in any place, had a vote.

A Civil Marriages Bill was scarcely less violently combated, with the backing up, of course, of the full strength of the clerical influence, and led to a reopening of the whole question of religious toleration, as well as of that of the Temporal Power of the Pope. Many extravagant sermons were preached, while

all the machinery of ultramontanism was set in active working. One enthusiastically faithful community agreed upon Seville as a fitting refuge for His Holiness, should he be compelled to quit Italy. Another of Sagasta's determinations was that he would give a firmer planting to trial by jury, an exotic which had not received very tender treatment in Spain. It would have been well if, during this interval of quiet, the condition of the army and navy had received some serious attention. Obligatory service was indeed declared to be a necessity, and promotion by merit promised. But discussions on these subjects led only to acrimonious speeches and a stirring up of party strife. Of no less import is it to find that an attempt, to prevent officers of inferior physique from obtaining commissions, had its most strenuous opponents amongst the class which furnished the majority of the officers of the household troops.

One other really salutary change was proposed. Sagasta maintained that every officer, on accepting civil employment, not merely ought to cease to draw military pay, he ought also to be considered as removed from the active list; he must, in fact, resign absolutely his commission. This project of, in short, getting rid of the Political General plainly enough was one somewhat of the bell-the-cat order. It was compromised: judiciously beyond doubt, considering the number of senior officers there were, at this time, chafing restlessly at seeing no field open to their activities. Even the chances of a little intriguing seemed to be vanishing. Yet the same military conditions remained: an over-officered, inefficient army, with a Government afraid of it, and unwilling to oppose any demands it might make. In this connection two altogether ludicrous ebullitions of the Spanish Press have yet their serious aspect, if we consider the effect they may have had upon an ill-informed people. The first occurred in 1881, when some bitterness was aroused against France from her having practically annexed Tunis. Hereupon many Spanish papers spoke in terms of the greatest contempt of the French army, and as if it would prove a mere trivial barrier to an advance from the Pyrenees upon Paris. Again, in 1885, there was an outburst of wrath, on this occasion against Germany, owing to her having occupied some of the Caroline Islands. At once a similar disparagement of the German army arose, and a portion of the Madrid Press was so fatuous as to maintain that Spain was able to put into the field forces equal, in every respect, to Moltke's helmeted legions.

With the spring of 1890 it was apparent that Sagasta's skilful and resourceful expedients, towards holding together his colleagues, were becoming finally exhausted. He had reconstructed his Cabinets with members taken from each of the predominant political parties. In this way opponents, otherwise dangerous, became his supporters. He had shown, notably in his agreement with the Vatican in regard to the Civil Marriages question, how antagonism may be met half-way. In the end, unable to bring about unanimity amongst his inner circle of confidants as to finance legislation, in which was included the contentious problem as to Free Trade or Protection, he resigned in the first week of July, 1890. Canovas succeeded him, and, with a nearly purely Conservative Cabinet, commenced an uneventful holding of office which lasted two and a half years. At its outset he announced that there would be no undoing of legislative work given the seal to under his predecessor. He, too, worked in full agreement with the Queen-Regent. Difficulties which, under Isabella, would have raised all manner of political turmoils, were thus quietly overcome. The reactionary aspirations of the clerical party were met by a conciliatory, yet firm, line of action. A particularly gratifying spectacle had been witnessed in the early part of the year, when, on the recovery of the infant King from a terribly dangerous illness, an enormous multitude, including politicians of every complexion, had crowded to the palace to offer their congratulations.

One uncertainty was soon put to rest. The new and greatly extended franchise, upon which such floods of oratory had been poured forth, had taken nothing from the powers of a Government in possession to shape towards an issue, favourable to itself, a General Election. At that of 1891, under the new electoral law, as well as in the case of the municipalities, Canovas was able to obtain his majorities without any change in the good old, time-honoured Spanish methods. It is to be noted, however, that of the lately enfranchised only a small proportion availed themselves of their right to vote. This was the more remarkable as, about that period, Sunday labour, an eight hours' day of work, and other such trade questions were giving rise to many demonstrations and processions, and should seemingly have drawn to the polls the classes most affected by the contemplated changes. As far as this election was an index to public opinion, in regard to Free Trade, there was a strong declaration against it. The Republicans had worked for a combination which was to demonstrate their

great importance and vast numbers. Unfortunately for them the Socialist meetings, Anarchist threatenings, and dynamite outrages which marked this period, converted into partisans of Canovas many who had Liberal or Republican leanings. Sagasta would have no dealings with these dangerous extremists and men of violence: he confined himself to a legitimate opposition. Obligatory army service and an amnesty for those implicated in recent outbreaks were the only subjects which gave rise to debates at all animated. A want of accord, chiefly in regard to a financial policy, brought this Administration of Canovas to a close.

Sagasta now, from the last month of 1892 until the spring of 1895, was again Prime Minister, with, of course, a Liberal Cabinet; and, after the General Election of March, 1893, with Cortes in which fifty Republicans had seats. His first Budget had to be balanced by changed as well as increased taxation: a matter upon which there was some combination of opposition amongst the various groups in the Lower Chamber. The Basque Provinces showed a restiveness under the new burdens; but as to any Carlist leaders who were ready to associate themselves with the complaints from that quarter, they were mostly tinged with the intolerance, religious and political, which had done so much to discredit both Pretenders. Moreover, the Pope continued to throw cold water upon all aspirations towards a change of Sovereigns. Hence Carlism, with schisms already existing in its midst, was for the moment negligible as a disturbing factor. If the Republicans were equally divided as to distinct aims, they were yet able to prove both obstructive within the Cortes and dangerously demonstrative without, giving encouragement, indirect at all events, to the perpetrators of bomb and dynamite outrages—a class which during this Administration, as during the last, was gaining an alarming notoriety. A famine in 1894, and in the same year threatened hostilities with Morocco, proved additional difficulties to Sagasta. In March, 1895, a number of army officers in Madrid, considering themselves insulted by the Press there, took the matter into their own hands as to forcible action against the objectionable editors. This led to a crisis in the Cabinet: it had more than once undergone almost complete transformation: by the end of the month it had ceased to exist.

CHAPTER XIV

PORTUGAL—CONCLUSION

1853—1908

THE death of Donna Maria II. of Portugal, in November, 1853, caused no immediate change of ministers or policy. Ferdinand, the late Queen's consort, was appointed Regent. Their eldest son, crowned in September, 1855, on attaining the age of eighteen, as Pedro V., meantime in visiting London, Paris, and other Continental centres of interest, improved the excellent education which had been bestowed upon him by his parents. Ferdinand, during this Regency of nearly two years, gained greatly in popularity, owing chiefly to his own tact and prudence. In the midst of trying circumstances he had essayed to hold aloof from the contentions of struggling parties; though when these assumed an aspect threatening to the Queen, or tending, as they sometimes did, to disrupt the whole administration of the country, his advice or intervention had frequently effected salutary moderating results. To financial questions he had successfully devoted a large share of his attention. Moreover, all the leading statesmen were aware that he had fully impressed upon the heir to the throne the fact that, when King of Portugal, he must rule by methods strictly constitutional.

Saldanha, who by this time had rid himself of the extremist elements in his Cabinet, continued to preach conciliation and tolerance. Conveniently forgetting a few episodes in his own career, he harangued against all disturbers of public order, and pointed out that material prosperity could only assert itself in Portugal when agitators submitted to self-effacement. He announced that it was his intention to raise the ministers, and all other Government officials, clear above the region of corrupting influences. The ablest and most honourable men

only, regardless of their political creed, were to be chosen for employment. Such words, in a country where a large number of public offices had for centuries been directly or indirectly sold, could signify little more than the hopes of an optimist; though it was seen that Saldanha himself set a most creditable example, and offered places to Chartists, Cabralites, and Septembrists alike. Under him internal affairs were now seriously taken in hand; several useful economical measures were introduced, and many long-neglected highways placed in repair. A freedom from civil commotions, for which credit is beyond doubt, in part due to the Regent, facilitated all such work. The repute of Portugal in the world's money market made an ascent; cash payments were rendered easier, and loans effected upon favourable terms. Some steady progress was made towards the abolition of entails and of slavery in the colonies.

Ordinarily Saldanha could reckon that in the Lower Chamber there would exist a compliant majority; and from the members of it a ready indemnity was obtained for the two or three hundred decrees which he had issued, during the first portion of his Premiership—his Dictatorship as his enemies termed it. But the Peers were by no means so disposed to give him unlimited support. At the opening of one of his first sessions a member of that House was credited with having very accurately outlined the position in exclaiming, "This is a speech, not from the Queen's throne, but from Saldanha's." In both Chambers, too, there was an obdurate party, determined never to forgive him for having submitted to the mandate of the Septembrists in regard to the new electoral law. More logical was the charge against him, that he had unfurled a banner of insurrection, bearing the words, "Liberty, Justice, The Will of the People," yet here was he now dominating Portugal after the usurping fashion of Junot. In 1854 Thomar again took a part in the debates, when he naturally had some not easily answered questions to ask, and was able to draw a few denunciatory comparisons. But, though there was a party ready to second him in attacks upon the Premier, the bulk of the nation was distinctly averse to him and his imperious methods. Unfortunately, during much of this period Saldanha was in ill-health, and the defence of his unconstitutional acts fell to men who had given their assent to them, rather from a feeling of loyalty to their chief than of what was due to the country. The opposition in the Upper Chamber it was proposed to meet by the creation of additional Peers; but to such a measure the King refused his

consent. This and a congested state of affairs between the two Houses, chiefly on the subject of taxation, brought about the retirement of Saldanha in June, 1856. The actual crisis was in regard to a projected loan for public works. By the public generally the opinion of the Peers was shared, that the country had entered upon too reckless a course of borrowing.

Saldanha, who had on the whole maintained a judicious blend of compromise in his Cabinet, was succeeded by the Marquis of Loulé, connected by marriage with the Royal Family, yet himself an advanced Radical. This change, then, as to parties was the substitution of the Historicals, or ex-Septembrists, in place of the Regenerators, who after the next General Election constituted themselves a benevolent Opposition, while the Peers continued to be a Conservative body. Two useful statesmen were thus lost to the country; though one of them, Fontes, an able financier, was after an interval in office again, and continued to render valuable services to the Government for the next thirty years. Rodrigo, the other, who shortly afterwards died, had been a hearty contributor to the policy of conciliatory fusion, and of making the Regenerators a strong party capable of pursuing their own aims, independent of out-of-date Chartists or of hot-headed Septembrists.

All the same, the policy followed by Loulé was very much that of Saldanha; it certainly was so in regard to elections; for in November the Deputies were simply given their seats by Ministerial agents. But a system of apportioning, as also afterwards in Spain, was now established. That is, the Government in being took up, so to speak, the political pack of cards, face upwards, and dealt out to their adversaries a hand, weak, of course, but yet strong enough to enable them to play the game. From about this date definite parties rather than leaders begin to alternate with some system in the Chamber, the debates happily to be less personal. Five years' freedom from civil commotions, together with the disappearance of factions altogether irreconcilable, was contributing to this. During Loulé's tenure of office Pedro married Stéphanie, a princess of the House of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen. As King he was seen, during the twenty months he had been seated on the throne, to have developed many estimable qualities. He devoted much of his time to study, and, aided by a singularly retentive memory, he not merely acquired an extensive general knowledge; he mastered the laws and constitutional history of his country so completely, that it was with truth said of him that he was

better versed in the subject than any of his ministers. Added to this he was gifted with a rare common sense, and the only fault that could be attributed to him was that, from a sense of duty, he was too inclined to take upon himself those trivial State matters which are usually left to the secretariats. His people certainly would willingly have seen him more in public, and unaccompanied, had it been possible, by his ever serious face, one upon which they never saw a smile. In 1857, when a terrible visitation of yellow fever at Lisbon carried off some five thousand of the population, and when there was a general flight from the capital, joined in by many high officials, Pedro was to be seen daily visiting amongst the sick and the dying. His melancholy, brooding temperament received an agonising shock, in July, 1859, from the death, a little more than a year after marriage, of his devout and cultured wife, whom the people had named the Angel of Charity.

For some time Loulé's Ministry had to face opposition only upon such comparatively minor topics as an existing soap monopoly, or whether the manufacture of tobacco should rest in the hands of the Government. Railway construction gave an opening for some heated discussions, in the midst of which arose a serious entanglement in reference to a French vessel, named the *Charles et George*, which the Portuguese naval commander on the Mozambique station had seized in November, 1857. His contention was that there were slaves, about a hundred in number, on board. The vessel was accordingly declared to be forfeited, and the captain was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour ; acts which stirred up no small excitement in France. For there it was asserted that the so-called slaves were merely labourers, in transference from one port to another. A demand was made that the captain must be released and the vessel restored. Portugal submitted that the case was one for arbitration ; but this was peremptorily refused, except in regard to the question of pecuniary compensation for the seizure. By the autumn of 1858 the crisis had become acute. There had occurred some very inflammatory speeches in the Cortes. French men-of-war were sent to the Tagus: what amounted almost to an ultimatum was presented. In the end Portugal had to submit: an indemnity was voted in silence.

After this putting out of countenance, Loulé maintained himself in power only until March, 1859. His Cabinet, made up chiefly from steady, trustworthy men of no great repute, had

witnessed many changes in its composition; yet had in one sense fulfilled its mission—in continuing the work of fusion, and in acting as a barrier against a flood of public extravagance, and a mania for speculation which had been let loose. Under Loulé, nevertheless, the national debt increased, while the numerous debates on loans and contracts often left a balance of argument with his opponents. Meantime disturbances occurred in several parts of the country, together with many highway robberies. Passionate excesses, which it was hoped had disappeared with the period of civil warfare, were seen to be again very much in evidence. In suppression of these disorders, measures undoubtedly ultra-Constitutional were resorted to. Judges, magistrates, and juries were privately enjoined to be brief in their procedure.

Saldanha, now invited to take upon himself the Premiership, declined on the score of the King's intermeddling too much in State affairs. He insisted that advancement in the civil and military professions must, at all events, be left to ministers. Terceira then accepted office, with a Cabinet in which Fontes was really the guiding spirit. It was essentially Regenerator; that party having by this time absorbed nearly all the Chartist fractions. Death, after about a year, brought to an end Terceira's uneventful Administration, marked only by an amendment of the electoral law, and by the conclusion of a *modus vivendi*, rather than an agreement, with the Holy See as to who should exercise patronage in regard to the bishops upon the Indian establishment; a controversy which lengthened itself through many years. However, the great, the seemingly insuperable difficulty was the Budget: how to frame one which would balance, or approximately so, except on paper; and, in truth, it may be said that a solution of this paramount financial problem had not been discovered even by the beginning of the twentieth century. Able critics saw clearly that the whole incidence of the taxation of the country was thoroughly faulty: it had scarcely been altered since the reassertion of independence in 1640; some classes of property and income paid three times over. Sweeping reforms were needed; and the opinion amongst qualified economists was general, that the middle and lower classes could and ought to be further taxed. But any attempts in this direction were sure to give rise to commotions. Even statesmen of such weight as Saldanha and Thomar knew that their popularity would vanish in a day if they attempted to deal equitably with the question.

One deficit of this period was partially met by the King, his father and other members of the Royal Family surrendering a part of their State allowances. All official salaries were reduced.

The Cabinet of which Terceira had been at the head, reconstructed under Aguiar in April, 1860, lasted until July of that year, when Loulé was again entrusted with the reins of government. He drew to himself much the same associates as before, and had for a first task to introduce harmony amongst the members of an Assembly somewhat heated by discussions as to a reform of the Judicature, a Budget as usual illusive, the inevitable fresh schemes of taxation, and the question of entails. Under him the worst evils of the latter finally disappeared. Another early perplexity of his Premiership, which lasted nearly five years, was in regard to Saldanha, who, if earnestly patriotic, was yet, when not in office himself, most insufferably jealous of whoever was. This with him amounted to a mania. Moreover, when four years ago he had handed over the guidance of affairs to Loulé, he had been rather supplanted by a detested rival, than merely succeeded by a political opponent. He was now suspected of meditating one of those sudden Cabinet transformation scenes at which he had shown himself something of an adept. As at the moment he held the position of Commander-in-Chief, his case required cautious, delicate handling. It was dealt with by proposing to abolish the post altogether in time of peace; a change which Saldanha anticipated by resigning. But the subject, of course, was transferred to the Cortes, where it was discussed with all the additional warmth it was bound to receive from references to certain previous rapid, involuntary, Ministerial somersaults which had been witnessed.

Though Loulé's administrative methods frequently enough had no legal sanction; though, in April, 1861, when he found his power tottering, he arbitrarily recast the situation in his favour by making an extreme autocratic use of his position, in regard to a quick Dissolution and unlimited official pressure at the elections, he yet handled his colleagues expertly as a body. For he was careful in his rewards to those whom he employed; they knew him to be a man of his word; he was thus more likely to add to his supporters than his enemies. His profession of Liberal principles disarmed Fontes and his Regenerators, as well as a Chartist party which was ready to follow the leadership of Thomar. As to either the Republican

or the vanishing remnants of the Miguelites, Loulé had no difficulty, when they showed themselves too noisily demonstrative, in obtaining from the remainder of the Opposition a declaration that, for the time being, they would not force to the front for debate topics of a generally disquieting nature; that he could, in fact, reckon on their rallying around him in the interests of the preservation of good order. It is to be noted that the great transformation in process of accomplishment in Italy, during the early sixties—the recognition, in short, of that kingdom by Portugal—was assented to without the extravagant and interminable oratory which accompanied the question in Spain.

During the first half of the winter months of 1861–62 death, with terrible and appalling suddenness, struck a succession of blows at the Portuguese Royal Family. Ferdinand, fourth son of Donna Maria II., was attacked by a particularly malignant type of fever, to which he succumbed on the 6th of November. So assiduous was the attention of the King to this brother, that it is probable that by his devotion he hastened his own death, which took place five days later. At this time Louis and John, second and third sons, were travelling abroad. In December, however, the latter prince fell a victim to the same dread epidemic. Thus was lost to Portugal in the flower of his manhood, at the early age of twenty-four, a King who, no less than his Queen, the saintly Stéphanie, was essentially endeared to the people. He was known amongst them as "O Esperançoso"; a title he had well earned by his thoughtfulness for their interests, as visible to the public in the numerous institutions dedicated to the advancement of education, or to charitable purposes, which had been brought into existence and were maintained, under the joint patronage of their Majesties. They were both averse to the infliction of the death penalty, with the result that no executions took place during this reign.

Some light is thrown upon the backward, credulous state of the Portuguese people from the fact that, by large numbers of them, these deaths in the Royal Family were believed to be attributable to wilful poisonings. Personages of the highest rank fell under accusation. The Prime Minister, in particular, was so charged with having committed murder; since his children might, under a remote contingency, become next in the succession to the throne. Night after night the streets resounded with shouts of "Death to Loulé." Other members of his Cabinet were similarly held up to execration. So alarm-

ing became these manifestations, that the King's body was exhumed and an official inquiry instituted. Certain changes, too, in the Ministry were thought advisable.

This agitated condition of the public mind was heightened by an outburst against clericalism. Some religious houses had lately been re-established, though now seemingly as genuine homes of benevolence. In addition, however, to the customary Sisters of Charity, there had gathered around these houses, as was, perhaps, inevitable, a considerable staff of spiritual directors and other members of the priesthood. In this the Historicals and other Liberal bodies found an opening for raising the outcry that here were reappearing the monasteries and nunneries which had been banished from the land in 1833, together with Dom Miguel. Agitators harangued that the question was one of immediate State importance, as these new institutions were becoming hotbeds of reactionary intrigue. What was more, the malcontents had with them the law of the land, which prohibited all such establishments if of foreign introduction. Now these were essentially French: they received their orders from a Superior in Paris. An aggressive hostility was thus doubly easy to work up; for the Portuguese had not forgotten whence came the humbling fulminations in the case of the *Charles et George*. In the end the Sisters were conveyed to their own country in a vessel despatched by the French Government.

Disorders, too, continued in connection with the imposition of new taxes. At the unravelment of this tangled skein Loulé, in conjunction with the late King, had worked most assiduously. Both were aware that it was not a case of the higher classes escaping by the impoverishment of the lower: it was rather the reverse; and Loulé openly enough declared the fact to the nation. Moreover, in the early sixties a Free Trade movement complicated the situation, at the same time that the Government, rightly or wrongly, felt compelled to have recourse to the taxation of some articles of food of the commonest daily consumption. Considerable resistance was the consequence, especially in Minho and the Azores. Troops about to be sent to the latter station from the capital refused to embark. Coimbra and Braga were for a period in a state of revolt. There, as elsewhere, the excise and other offices were broken into, and bonfires made of public records. Notwithstanding this, the country meanwhile made much serviceable progress. Railways were extended, many additional steamers built, the communications

by road greatly improved. Public instruction was advanced, the number of the schools increased. By the early part of 1865, however, Loulé, though still with a substantial majority in the Lower House, found his popularity in the other so evidently on the wane, as well in the country generally and amongst his own Historicals, that in April he resigned.

King Louis I. had now, for more than three years, occupied a throne to which he had succeeded just as he was entering upon his twenty-fourth year. To the careful early guidance he had received from his mother there followed under his father a useful liberal education, which developed serviceably an intelligence naturally high. As a Sailor Prince he had acquired the manly, cheery traits usually associated with the naval profession. During his service afloat he had shown that he was alive to the advantages which sea voyages afford for practical scientific investigation. So little desirous was he of worldly elevation that when informed of the death of Pedro V. he exclaimed, "I have lost my brother, and with him my liberty." In October, 1862, he married Maria Pia, a daughter of Victor Emmanuel II., King of Italy. The Pope was her godfather; but the great changes which had taken place since her childhood were seen now in the strained relations continuing between Portugal and the Holy See, caused partly by a general Catholic hostility to her father, as the ruler over territory severed by arms and risings from the patrimony of His Holiness. At a Council held in Rome in May, 1862, no Portuguese high Church dignitaries were in attendance. Later in the year we find Pius IX. censuring this absence, and calling attention to the "notorious" laxity of the clergy of the kingdom in regard to the true interests of the Holy See. They must, they were told, show greater energy and less latitudinarianism; they must protect, with increased care, their flocks from the "wild animals" at this time attacking them with an appalling boldness. As this evoked some sermons directed against the Government, the clergy were warned that, if they persisted in such courses, they would certainly find themselves under lock and key. By the Liberal Press the matter was taken up with no small warmth.

Some time before this the question, already touched upon, of ecclesiastic patronage in India had been working itself into an acute form. It became a kind of three-cornered contention. The establishments having shown themselves contumacious in regard to the Pope, he bodily excommunicated the members of them. On the other hand, the Home Government, in a general

way, supported them; the Cortes declared that they had deserved well of their country. In 1862 it was hoped that a newly-appointed Archbishop would evolve harmony out of animosity. His journey eastwards, however, included a conference at the Vatican. This the Radicals declared was truckling to Rome: hence some additional embitterment of the case. Saldanha was then sent to the Eternal City in the hope that he would be able to pour oil on the troubled waters; but he had only a very partial success. Following this, at the end of 1864, Portugal, in common with other countries, declined to recognise an Encyclical Letter of the Pope. Nor was the situation improved, in 1865, by His Holiness refusing, on the birth of a royal prince, to permit Victor Emmanuel to stand as godfather.

Loulé was succeeded by Sá-da-Bandeira; but the General Election which took place about midsummer, 1865, soon after his installation, showed that Lisbon, Oporto, Coimbra, Evora, and other important towns were not to be influenced into placing Ministerial candidates at the head of the polls. The Cabinet consequently found itself somewhat vulnerable, and in September made way for another, one of fusion under Aguiar, who maintained his position until the end of 1867. Throughout he had the valuable assistance of Fontes as Finance Minister, and Loulé declared that he was ready to support the new Administration, an example which was followed by Conservatives and Historicals. Yet, as ever, the Budget was the difficulty. The period was one, throughout Europe, of national advance and great undertakings. Portugal must move abreast of the times as to her shipping, railways, docks, lighthouses, and telegraph systems; but while loan upon loan was raised, and the national debt mounted higher and higher, there was no corresponding commercial prosperity. The State treasury remained always empty. Fontes was perhaps as able a financier as the country possessed, and the Cortes seem to have voted for the loans from a conviction as to their necessity; but the country was altogether against this system of meeting the annual deficits, which sometimes amounted to a third of the whole national expenditure. Various expedients were resorted to. Land and other properties were taxed more highly: measures which proved unpopular, and were complicated by the fact that the surveys, according to which the new imposts were assessed, were altogether untrustworthy. So also was the census. Worst of all, there was no power in the country sufficient to restrain Government officials themselves from

transmitting concocted figures and statements. They closed their eyes to evasions innumerable.

Similarly, very little beneficial progress was made with a sound economical project of this period. It was proposed, for administrative purposes, to absorb into larger territorial divisions a number of small districts and parishes. By this many local officials would no longer be required, but the more important amongst them would thus lose, in addition to their own posts, the perquisites they received from having other petty ones at their disposal, as well as from a variety of other sources. In many cases Deputies to the Cortes, worked upon by the clamourings of these office-holders, found themselves driven into opposition to an Administration with which, in a general way, they agreed as to main principles. That is to say, urgent financial reforms failed to obtain a legal assent because they ran counter to local interests, time-honoured peculation, habit, and prejudice. Addresses and petitions were forwarded to the Cortes. Protestation meetings became more and more minatory. Oporto, in particular, was seen to be in a state of dangerous ferment. During the crisis Saldanha recommended the King to assume dictatorial powers; to effect, in short, what was desired by Royal Decrees, which were afterwards to be submitted to the Cortes; but these he maintained needed an organic remodelling. The ministers were prepared to acquiesce in such a line of action; the King, however, refused his assent.

Under Aguiar, at all events, a new comprehensive Civil Code was brought into existence, but the passing of a Civil Marriage Bill stirred up all that virulent outcry of opposition which has attended corresponding legislature in other Catholic countries. Loulé having refused to accept office on Aguiar's resignation, the formation of a new Cabinet, early in 1868, was entrusted to Avila, who, as the ferments in Lisbon and elsewhere continued, felt himself under the necessity of submitting to the Cortes proposals for withdrawing the most unpopular of the taxes, as well as for a modification of the scheme of changed administrative divisions. But, as the present members could scarcely be expected to undo their chief work of the preceding year, a Dissolution became a necessity. The new Assembly, with its prearranged Ministerial majority, readily granted a Bill of Indemnity for certain decrees which the Government, faced by the continuing disorders throughout the country, had considered it obligatory to issue. Before the end of May, however,

the inevitable Budget presented itself, impracticable as ever. By the sale of some public forests, and by placing compulsorily in the market certain corporate property held by the Church and by charitable and educational establishments, it was hoped that the financial strain would find some relief. So great was it, that, in addition to raising an increase of income from tobacco, sugar, coffee, and tea, imposts were placed upon several such indispensable articles as flour, rice, and butter. A charge of 10 per cent upon all dividends was also proposed.

Mortmain was condemned, but was struggling hard to prolong an existence. In those cases where the change touched the clergy the opposition to it on their part continued, as was to be expected, indefatigable. One outward and visible effect of this was that in the Cortes they were occasionally alluded to in anything but respectful terms, and were frequently insulted in the streets. Thus nearly every expedient, whether sound or ill-judged, resorted to by successive Governments for augmenting the revenue, caused either an unsettling of vested interests amongst the higher and middle classes, or a pinching of the lower. There were further Dissolutions in 1869 and in the following year, both brought about more or less by Budget difficulties. Finance Ministers came and went in quick succession. Meantime Avila maintained himself in office for about six months only: Sá-da-Bandeira, who followed, held the Premiership for a year; then, in August, 1869, Loulé again went to the helm. During this year other events helped to disturb the political situation. When Sá-da-Bandeira and his colleagues were about to tender their resignations the capital and Oporto commenced a clamour for their retention in power. Royal Decrees reduced the members of the Lower Chamber from 179 to 107, and altered the application of the electoral law. The elections themselves were held amidst scenes of great violence, not unaccompanied by bloodshed. Beyond doubt the general discontent arose partly from a current opinion that great corruption was rife, in the Governmental departments as well as in the public companies. Within the Cortes, and much more so without, ministers were assailed by clamorous denunciators. In their harangues to the mob the King himself was not spared. Manifestations of disloyalty altogether unusual in Portugal were the consequence. Some of the clubs demanded an abdication and a Regency. There were shouts in the streets for a republic. Newspapers appeared with the ominous titles of *El Republicano* and *La Lanterna*.

We have arrived now at the years 1869-70, during which the sister kingdom was without a Sovereign. Though there, as noticed in another chapter, the period was one of a calmness scarcely to be expected; still, the flight of Isabella, together with its revolutionary surroundings, was partly accountable for the above general unsettlement in Portugal. It gave prominence to the question, which had so often occupied certain minds within the Peninsula, as to the desirability of uniting both countries under a common sceptre. Overtures in regard to the vacant throne were, as we have seen, made both to King Louis and to his father Ferdinand. Although these were declined, emphatically by the former, less so as to the latter, rumours and apprehensions continued to excite the public mind, especially as there were intriguers working to keep them stirring. The idea of joining the crowns may be said to date back to the days when the two kingdoms first stood alone in the Peninsula, the outcome of its many earlier divisions. How Philip II. of Spain in 1580 forcibly annexed Portugal, and how sixty years afterwards it regained its independence, were events not likely to be forgotten by the people of the latter: on the contrary, they gave rise to a patriotic feeling in Portugal, strong against all attempts at union; and this as a sentiment has continued, certainly amongst the great bulk of the people, down to the present times. A minority, however, there has always been, composed of men plainly entitled from their standing and intelligence to a voice in the matter, and these have held that from many considerations, financial, trading, and colonial, an increased prosperity would be the lot of Portugal should she link her future with that of Spain.

It may be taken that at times when the Portuguese found themselves in an evil plight, chiefly when one of their periodical civil wars was raging—wars, too, in which the people had no particular concern, with accompaniments all around of hardship and poverty—then, on such occasions, they may have turned with some longing towards incorporation with Spain. A desire of this sort, of a happy exit from their troubles, was certainly in existence after the humiliating events of 1846-47. Amongst the exiles and others of both nations, at that time in Paris, were formed clubs towards fostering the sentiment. "Viva la Union Peninsula!" may be said to have been their motto. The impulse was, however, but short-lived. It began to die away from about the period of Ferdinand's Regency; when he was seen to be honestly striving to give Constitutional

forms full play; to carry out in practice what the Cortes had placed upon the statute book; and when such efforts were plainly producing the desired results. Within Spain, on the contrary, Isabella and her Court were known to be always scheming after absolute power; to be doling out only just as much general liberty as risings, threatened or accomplished, could extort from them. It was evident that there, sooner or later, some convulsion would be the upshot of persistent despotism and clericalism: these were, in effect, two chief causes of the Spanish Revolution of 1868.

Add to this the personal characteristics of the two Houses. The Portuguese Court was a model of all the people could desire: no more need be said about that of Spain. Isabella II., however, some two years before her actual fall, aware that it would be well to provide for contingencies, had endeavoured to arrange a prospective betrothal between her daughter, Isabella, and Prince Augustus of Portugal. Neither of these was then of a marriageable age. Her only surviving son, Alfonso, was born in 1857. In 1868 she was a refugee in France. Upon this there was soon seen to be a party in Portugal desirous that King Louis should become King of Spain, and his son Carlos succeed to the Portuguese throne. Shortly, however, the King's outspoken assertion that he meant to live and die a Portuguese disposed of the notion of a Braganza for Spain. With his father, Ferdinand, the case was different. By the Spanish exiles who, chiefly from Paris, had worked up the revolution which dispossessed Isabella II., he was regarded as a suitable successor to her. Progressists and Democrats then showed themselves favourably disposed towards him: their Press supported the idea. The Republicans would have voted for him in preference to any Bourbon. Prim changed round from opposition to approval. At this time Ferdinand was little more than fifty years of age: he had good health, spoke Spanish like a Spaniard, and was well versed in State affairs. He was essentially liberal-minded, and his political views would have found an echo amongst all the Central parties at Madrid.

To all this there was the no small obstacle that Ferdinand had no personal desire to accept the vacant crown. His present position gave him all the attributes of royalty, together with the independence of a private gentleman, including a leisure which he valued as enabling him to pursue studies of a scientific nature. This comfortable ease he had little enough

inclination to exchange for an insecure throne. Moreover, during the quest for a King he married again, and as his second wife had been a public singer here was a further difficulty. Nevertheless, there were patriotic considerations which disposed him to continue to be a possible candidate. His occupation of the Spanish throne would, in short, be the surest guarantee that the two crowns would remain separate: at all events, the danger would be averted that some new adventurous ruler, in the larger kingdom, might harbour designs against the smaller. In addition, a spirit of Republicanism was soon running ahead in Spain, and this could hardly continue without exercising an influence in Portugal. It was for this reason, partly, that Napoleon III., whose friendship was, of course, desirable, and who equally considered a republic, as a next-door neighbour, objectionable, was anxious to take in hand Ferdinand, if only as a quick way of settling the matter. Independent of this, here might be a first step in harmony with the Emperor's pet theory regarding the fusion of nationalities.

At an early stage of the interregnum the Spanish Progressists were very determined to bring Ferdinand to the front. They prepared a Commission, and had the members of it all ready for the journey to Lisbon, when Ferdinand, who had more than once intimated his unwillingness to become a candidate, telegraphed to stop it, saying that even were the Spanish Cortes to elect him King, he was not prepared to accept the offer. This message, by the way, caused no small perplexity to Prim, then at the head of affairs at Madrid, and had to be presented to the Cortes as a most politely-expressed reluctance to receive the highest of honours; for to Spanish pride the idea was altogether incomprehensible that all the Courts of Europe were not vying with one another in their offers of candidates. Thus the question remained, to some extent, an open one as to Portugal. But the people were, at first, hurried into an utter misunderstanding of the situation. It was known that overtures were being made: that emissaries and communications were passing and repassing between Madrid and Lisbon. A sudden fear was stirred up that a United Kingdom was in contemplation. This, the Portuguese cried out, meant their disappearance as a nation. Excited meetings took place. Rumour flew far wide of fact. Louis was on the verge of abdicating: he had consented that his son should accept the vacant throne: Ferdinand was setting out for Madrid—and

so on. Portugal's Independence Day, the anniversary of its emancipation from Spain, was, in 1868, made the occasion for significant national demonstrations throughout the country.

Though affairs quieted down after the winter, 1869 was a year of general unsettlement in Portugal; especially as to the army, for the Spanish Progressists in their zeal had sent emissaries to many of the garrison towns across the frontier. Circumstance favoured them. Promotion in the Portuguese army had for some time been despairingly slow: in that of Spain it had been quick, and, as we have seen, there had been no lack of active service. After the fall of Isabella it seemed as if the Democrats in Spain would bring about the abolition, in that country, of the Conscription. Hence, had anything in the nature of a plebiscite, on the subject of the Union, taken place in Portugal, the regular troops would, to some extent at least, have voted for it. This brings us to Saldanha. He was in favour of Ferdinand becoming king in Spain; but was prompted, undoubtedly, by the same patriotic desires just mentioned, in speaking of the Prince. Saldanha knew well that the change would render very much easier a settlement of the numberless vexatious questions continually springing up between the two countries, and would be a guarantee against adventurous politicians at Madrid seeking to make capital, according to their wont, out of blustering fulminations in regard to their small neighbour. But many people could not rid themselves of the notion that Saldanha was a warm Unionist. If so, he would certainly make use of the army as his tool.

Plottings, of many descriptions, were at this time rife at Madrid as well as at Lisbon; and as Loulé, the personal enemy and political rival of Saldanha, became Premier in August, 1869, we shall probably not be very far wide of the truth if we assume that, after that date, some at least of Saldanha's thoughts were directed towards a surprise upset of the political situation. Certain facts are to be noted. One night in December Saldanha's name was received, at a theatre, with marks of disapprobation; a matter which caused some spread of indignation, natural or worked up, as his friends declared that the hostile manifestations had proceeded from agents of the ministers. The latter, at the moment, suspected Saldanha of aiming at the re-establishment of the post of Commander-in-Chief, with himself, it is needless to say, occupying it. The King, it seems, was more favourably inclined towards Saldanha than to Loulé and his Cabinet. Many senior officers gave emphasis to their views

on the subject by the prominent way in which they paid visits to the Marshal, and by attending meetings complimentary to him. Several were in consequence removed to other commands, and he himself was directed forthwith to quit the capital, and resume his duties as ambassador at Paris. He refused to go, sent to the Press a most intemperate letter, and spoke no less injudiciously in the Upper House. Inflammatory appeals were at the same time made to him, urging him to head a movement against the Government. To one deputation he replied, quite openly, that he was now about to assume a more personal direction of affairs. He proceeded to do so.

Saldanha had, during the early part of 1870, taken it upon himself several times to urge the King to dismiss his present ministers. On the 18th of May he made what was tantamount to a demand to the same effect; and, as this was refused, he declared to His Majesty that such was the general maladministration, that the State could be saved only by a complete reversal of policy. By this time some half-dozen colonels had placed their regiments at his disposal, entreating him, according to his account, to effect the deliverance of the country. Very early on the following morning troops, from the Castle of St. George and from elsewhere, began to assemble at the Marshal's residence. At the same time a body of six hundred civilians proceeded to occupy the Castle. The ministers were in full information of the projected attempt, and had located portions of the garrison at various points, including the Ajuda Palace at Belem, where the King was in residence. In regard, however, to the non-regular troops, their commander stated that they had turned out with so few officers and sergeants that they could not be employed. Saldanha went straight to the palace, but with a small following only of armed men. It was a critical conjuncture seemingly; for here drawn up were troops, still avowedly faithful to the Government. Saldanha, without hesitation, strode through their midst and demanded an audience with the King. This he obtained as well as, in brief, the main object of his adventurous mission. Loulé was informed of events at the palace, at a moment when he was advancing towards it with reinforcements. He received, however, an order from the King that the troops under arms against the Government were not to be attacked. He was then sent for, was dismissed from the Premiership, and succeeded by Saldanha.

In justification of this curious *coup d'état* Saldanha—who, by the way, was now over eighty years of age—and his partisans

urged that they sought merely to overthrow a corrupt political party, habitually acting unconstitutionally, and disturbing the country by unnecessary dissolutions of the Cortes. Some of them claimed that they had stayed a general revolution, others that they had saved the King from a compulsory abdication. On the other hand, there were those who contended that the whole affair was merely a little theatrical display, prearranged between the King and Saldanha. Regarded in this light, with its final scene including a salvo of twenty-one guns from the Castle of St. George, and a discharge of rockets by Saldanha's friends, it seems a pity that it had not a larger and more appreciative audience. The capital slumbered peacefully through it. When awake, however, most of the citizens there of standing and wealth heard, with no small indignation, that a Ministry had been ousted at the bayonet's point. All the attendant circumstances, treacherous or farcical, were declared to be in every way discreditable to a Constitutional country. The example was pernicious, the danger not slight, in taking out troops of the line at night, with ball cartridges in their pouches, even if only to play at making revolutions. As it was, three men were killed and some half-dozen wounded. Newspapers devoted to Loulé were, of course, very much more outspoken. Saldanha's zeal for his country was placed no higher than that of the highwayman who seeks to possess himself of the belongings of the peaceful wayfarer. As, too, promotions on a liberal scale followed, the patriotic motives of those officers who had lent their influences to the night's work were scarcely likely to escape criticism.

Amongst the more ignorant sections of the populace, opinion ran to a certainty that Saldanha's nocturnal exploit was connected with the still vacant Spanish throne—with, in short, bringing about the unwelcome Union. He had seized power, they asserted, in order to make it a certainty. Here, as pointed out, they were in error ; but his sudden action at such a time, and his eagerness in regard to the post of Commander-in-Chief, lent a ready colour to their suspicions. A clamorous portion of the Press was either ignorant of the true state of affairs or chose to distort it. Saldanha, undoubtedly, had gained nothing in general popularity. The Assembly in existence, as well as a new one elected in August, condemned his rash procedure. He seems also to have quickly incurred the King's disfavour, though this is a matter somewhat obscure. The Queen is stated to have declared that he deserved a traitor's

death on the scaffold. Enough that, though he introduced some useful reforms, his Administration lasted little more than three months. Before the end of the year a Bill of Indemnity had covered most of the measures of his short-lived so-called Dictatorship.

Sá-da-Bandeira, the Bishop of Vizeu, and Avila, each had brief tenures of office during the year following the exit of Saldanha. In the autumn of 1871 the Premiership fell to Fontes, who had held a portfolio in several previous Cabinets, and who now had an opportunity of establishing more fully that renown as a statesman which he so long maintained. To great oratorical powers he added a political insight eminently sound. He was well received by the people, especially as it was rumoured that Court influences had hitherto kept him somewhat in the background. A full support, too, was accorded him by Louis I., in whom all classes recognised that they possessed an enlightened, prudent Sovereign. With an even temper and agreeable presence he combined a liking and capacity for the details of State affairs. To letters, in addition to his patronage, he offered a personal tribute as a translator of Shakespeare. His marriage proved a thoroughly happy and popular one. Queen Pia, by her many acts of charity, endeared herself readily to the Portuguese.

With a Sovereign and a Premier thus working in unison, the country under the Regenerators enjoyed more than six years of quiet progress. It was plain that the latter party had little now to separate them from the Historicals, or Liberals as they may be termed. Both accepted the situation, and so elbowed aside the ultra-Radicals no less than the Socialists. Inevitably however, the Republicans gained courage and confidence as their brethren beyond the Pyrenees there solidified a Government. Nevertheless they found few partisans of any note, while their opponents were shortly able to adduce forcible arguments from the disastrous course which Republicanism was running in the sister kingdom. Portugal seemed to have little desire for further experiences of sudden, complete Constitutional changes: a mood which perhaps tempted Fontes to deal somewhat arbitrarily with agitators, at the same time that a salutary safety-valve was provided in the progressive nature of his measures. The penal code, the electoral and Press laws underwent further beneficial revision. Slavery, though it struggled hard to maintain itself where it still existed, was condemned. Railways continued to increase their mileage. Education was dealt with

in a liberal enough spirit; but, so little was school attendance enforced, then and thereafter, that, at the very end of the nineteenth century, a mere fifth of the entire population was able to read and write.

Relations with the Vatican were rendered a trifle difficult from the fact that, while on the one hand there existed a somewhat strong Ultramontane party at the Portuguese Court, on the other the Queen was a daughter of the King of Italy whose policy her husband approved and furthered. In both Houses speeches were directed against the clergy. They were accused of a variety of misdemeanours, amongst others of conspiring to restore the crown to the Dom Miguel branch. That prince himself had died in 1866. Military risings, however, after a small one in 1872, seemed to be no longer feasible; though in consequence of one at Goa in the previous year some regiments were disbanded. Yet Fontes, like his predecessors, failed to give equilibrium to the Budget. Year after year showed a deficit, and taxes duly imposed by the Cortes had to be repealed, on account of hostile manifestations on the part of the people. This naturally weakened the popularity of Fontes, though almost to the last he retained a faithful majority. Finally, it dislocated itself on the subject of grants to railways and other public works. He resigned in March, 1877, after having undoubtedly rendered useful service to the Regenerators, the party with which his name will always be associated.

The Marquis of Avila followed, with a coalition cabinet of Liberal tendencies. But his leanings towards men of advanced views, his bestowal of important offices upon them, together with accusations of corruption brought forward against the late Administration, as well as the fact that the present majority was composed of Regenerators, soon produced a disjointed political situation. Avila found himself a butt for the shafts of all parties; and in the first month of the new year—1878—a vote of want of confidence obliged him to make way for Fontes again and Regenerator ministers. Though a General Election in October gave the latter all they desired in the way of a majority, and though this held together satisfactorily, it was not so with the immediate associates of Fontes. Dissensions amongst them led to his resignation in May, 1879. Under Braamcamp, who now with a Liberal Cabinet succeeded to office, and remained at the head of affairs until March, 1881, the most important proposal of the Government was an Income Tax Bill. It aroused a strong outside opposition, supported throughout the country by

many meetings and demonstrations, at which the whole system of collecting the revenue was attacked, as well as the incidence of the taxation in regard to the masses, for whom were demanded lowered prices in all such articles as flour, meat, and wine.

In 1880 another question, partly on account of the prominence which South African affairs assumed in that year, entered upon an acute phase. A dispute in regard to Delagoa Bay, between Great Britain and Portugal, had been referred for arbitration to Marshal MacMahon, whose award—given in 1875—was in favour of the latter country. But Fontes, before quitting office in 1879, had made certain concessions to the former country in regard to the construction of a railway and the passage of British troops from the Bay through Portuguese territory into the Transvaal. These Braamcamp and his party, backed by new Cortes, were unwilling to identify themselves with; and public opinion, to some extent worked upon for political purposes, clamorously supported them. An outcry was raised that the sovereignty over Delagoa Bay was being handed over to the British, who would thus have the right to overhaul all Portuguese goods on arrival in the harbour, and that here was a throwing away of everything gained by the MacMahon award. By the spring of 1881 Lisbon had become somewhat feverish. The presence in the Tagus of British men-of-war was vehemently expostulated against, and it was declared that, until their withdrawal, there ought to be no discussions in the Cortes regarding the treaty. Republican meetings were frequently held. Cries of "Down with the Ministry!" "Down with the Monarchy!" were not unusual. Although a General Election in October, 1879, had given Braamcamp all the authority needful, amongst the Deputies, for adhering to the policy introduced by his predecessor, he escaped defeat in the Peers' Chamber by a single vote only. This confusion in the political situation, together with the agitated state of the country, seemed to Braamcamp good grounds for asking permission to retire from his anomalous position.

Another matter much discussed about this time, and for some years to come, was the constitution of Portugal's Upper House. In 1879 and in each of the following years it had been notably augmented by batches of new members, so much so that in 1881 the total added in two years amounted to sixty. This, regarded either as a Ministerial stratagem, or as an exercise of the Royal prerogative, was severely commented upon, not merely in political circles. It was maintained that the Chamber in

question was, by the Constitution, intended to be representative of grandees, of the foremost ecclesiastics, and of men occupying or who had occupied responsible State positions. Elevation to it ought to be reserved for men who had rendered meritorious service to their country.

When Braamcamp's Ministry resigned, in March, 1881, Fontes declined the Premiership, which then fell to Sampaio, who had held a portfolio in previous Regenerator Cabinets, and now found himself head of one composed of men of no great notability. He made it his first care to curtail the range of the much objected to Income Tax, and in the changing conditions in the Transvaal—this being Majuba Hill year—found an excuse for shelving definite engagements in regard to Delagoa Bay. As the Lower Chamber was Liberal, a General Election was necessary. At this, held late in the summer, owing either to the extreme assiduity of the Government, or to a genuine temporary enthusiasm in their favour, so clean a sweep of the constituencies was made that even Braamcamp was unable to find a seat; an adverse lot which fell also to Carvalho, who had been the practical head of the previous Administration. Some Press prosecutions, the fact that Sampaio was regarded as a political trimmer, and that the rightful leader of the Regenerators was Fontes, may be taken as the three chief causes why, by November, the latter statesman was again installed in office. The Cabinet did not undergo an entire change.

The Opposition had, as noticed, in their denouncements of the late creations of Peers, a general following. They now added the demand that the elective principle ought, to some extent at least, to be applicable to the Upper Chamber. Some of their members spoke out very plainly, while an extremist section of their Press aired views startlingly democratic. The King himself was not spared. It was observed, too, during his tour in the provinces, in 1882, that though the rural districts were fully loyal, certain towns were no less plainly Republican in their sentiments. At an immense assemblage which gathered together this year in memory of Pombal, some officers were heard to give "*Vivas!*" for a republic. Later, another large concourse, intent upon advocating the advantages of that form of government, was forcibly dispersed. Another censure, directed against Fontes, was that he failed to oppose a sufficiently firm front to the ultramontanes; and an opportunity for public protest was readily taken advantage of, this same year, on the Papal Nuncio raising an objection to the selections made

for filling up certain vacant bishoprics. The Press of nearly every shade raised an outcry against him; many papers insisted that his passports ought at once to be handed to him. In regard to Rome, the tension was naturally not eased when, in 1883, the Pope refused to receive the Queen, a sister of the King of Italy. It was also charged against Fontes that he was far too submissive to Great Britain, and, more senselessly still, that he was eager for the union of his country with Spain. Sampaio, by the way, had been accused of entering into arrangements with the latter country for an armed intervention by it, should a Republican outbreak occur in Portugal.

With such a current of opposition against him, Fontes deemed it advisable to shape his course to some extent with it. In 1883 he himself introduced a Reform Bill; so gaining over those Deputies who might be classed as Centralists. Presently he admitted some of them into his Cabinet, and thus gave it consistency in regard to the contemplated reforms. The Bill aimed at limiting the number of peers, at lessening their powers, and at substituting in part the elective for the hereditary principle. An opposition in the House thus affected was the consequence. Other provisions were intended to attach more direct responsibility to ministers, and to eradicate the practice which had grown so prevalent of ruling by decrees —by a Dictatorship as it was stigmatised—and afterwards obtaining Bills of Indemnity. There were clauses, also, relating to the submission of Pontifical documents to the Cortes, and to the right of public assembly. It was followed by an Electoral Bill; but discussions and Cabinet changes were the only results to the end of the year.

In 1884, however, and the following year important constitutional changes were approved. The Upper Chamber was to consist of certain high Church dignitaries, sitting with one hundred members nominated for life by the Crown, and fifty chosen by election. The Chamber of Deputies was increased to one hundred and seventy, and the electorate enlarged. A spirit of compromise, aided considerably by a General Election in June, 1884, which allotted to the Opposition thirty seats only, facilitated the passing of the chief measures under consideration, except those directed against the Vatican. Finally, in June, 1885, the amended Bill became law; though the Liberals towards the end abstained from voting, giving as a reason their unwillingness to consent to a proviso which excluded further changes during the next four years.

A course of action not strictly constitutional, and unpopular finance proposals, brought to a close this Administration of Fontes in February, 1886. He was succeeded by Castro, who with a Liberal Cabinet showed himself, even more than his predecessor, inclined to discard a legal procedure, and to carry on the government of the country by decrees. But as these were of a genuinely reforming character, no clamour was raised against them, and Portuguese affairs pursued an uneventful course until October, 1889, when King Louis died somewhat suddenly.

This same year brought forth an event which, in a history of Portugal, ought scarcely to be passed over unnoticed. Brazil we have seen a Portuguese colony, then in a way the mother country of that kingdom, and afterwards ruled over, as a matter of selection, by the elder branch of the Royal Family. Pedro, father of Donna Maria II. and first Emperor of Brazil, was succeeded by his son Pedro II., then a minor, but declared to be of age in 1840. Between that date and 1889 a Republican party had developed itself, increasing in strength year by year. So much so that it became an open secret that, on the death of Pedro II., who was born in 1825, there would be an attempt to set up that form of government. The Emperor had no son to succeed him : a daughter, Isabella, married to the Count of Eu, was heiress to the throne. They had, however, rendered themselves unpopular ; she particularly so on account of her extreme ultramontane tendencies ; and this in a country where clericalism was represented by a strong and persistently active party. Isabella had acted as Regent during a long absence of her parents in Europe. This terminated in August, 1888. Meanwhile slavery had been abolished finally in Brazil ; but in a manner which caused great discontent, owing chiefly to the unconditional freedom given to the blacks, and the omission of satisfying compensations to their owners. Midsummer, 1889, found the country in a state of political turmoil. In July the Emperor was fired at as he was quitting the theatre, and the would-be assassin asserted that he had been instigated to the act by the Republicans. An attempt to dam the quickly increasing revolutionary tide was made by a Liberal Cabinet, which promised all manner of democratic innovations. But an ill-disciplined army had already been gained over by the leaders of the movement. The Emperor had no choice but to bow to the inevitable ; and Brazil in November was declared to be, what it has since remained, a republic.

Louis I. was succeeded as King of Portugal by his son

Carlos I., a prince upon whose education every care had been bestowed; with the result that to natural characteristics of energy and decision was added a fondness for literature, art, and the sciences, together with a full understanding of the public obligations attached to his position. The Queen, a daughter of the Count of Paris, was already very popular, and prominent in charitable endeavours of every description. Barely, however, was Carlos upon the throne before a colonial question, bringing with it conditions of no small excitement and animosity in Portugal, embroiled that country with Great Britain. Already, in 1889, some friction had occurred in regard to a railway which was to run from Delagoa to the Transvaal, and which, while still under construction, the Portuguese had seized on account of a breach of contract as to the date of its completion. Later in the year Portugal established herself upon a large tract of territory lying in the Nyassa-Zambesi region; an occupation which, it was considered, would have gone some considerable way towards connecting her possessions on the east of Africa with those on the west. A Portuguese commander, Major Serpa Pinto, who had some four thousand troops under him, attacked the Makololos, a people over whom Great Britain claimed a protectorate, based upon treaties and agreements with native rulers past and present, in that part of East Africa. The British Government, at the same time, declared to be altogether untenable the similar assumption of Portugal, as having no better foundation than a remote, a lapsed and an almost forgotten possession. As the British flag had been torn down, and the adventurous Serpa Pinto was reported to be boasting that he was about to occupy the whole country up to Lake Nyassa, a situation undoubtedly serious had been evolved.

By the early part of 1890 the state of affairs was that Lord Salisbury was demanding, in decisive language, the withdrawal wholly of the Portuguese from the British protectorate in question, while the Lisbon Government demurred as to an acquiescence. The next stage was that telegrams were sent to Lisbon, asking for information concerning the precise instructions sent to East Africa, and for the communication of these to the British ambassador. In reply, it was stated that Serpa Pinto had been ordered to retire within Portuguese territory; but, as intelligence reached London that he was taking no action in the matter, and as the Lisbon Government was considered to be adopting an evasive procedure, an ultimatum was sent to it on January 11th. A submission under protest, with a

reservation of all legitimate claims, may be said to summarise the response of Portugal; and no more need be said of the dispute as between the two Governments.

Portugal meantime was commencing a very agitated year. The King had opened the Cortes with a speech in which, while asserting that the country's rights must be maintained, he yet expressed his belief that an amicable outcome of the crisis would be arrived at. On January 13th, however, when it became known that the Cabinet had yielded to pressure, there were violent disturbances at Lisbon. The escutcheon at the British Consulate was torn down and trailed in the mud. *Vivas* were heard everywhere for Serpa Pinto, together with shouts of "Down with England!" and not a few of "Long live the Republic!" Similar demonstrations occurred at Oporto and Coimbra. Of the outcries a full share was of course directed against the ministers, who by the end of a few days had shown themselves only too glad to escape official responsibility, and the attentions of the mob, by resignation. Their successors, a coalition body under Serpa Pimental, decided upon a Dissolution. But the bitterness against Great Britain was not thereby allayed. It was certainly not on this occasion worked up by agitators; and showed itself in a series of resolutions, official or private, not remarkable, it must be admitted, for their foresight of temperateness. No business transactions whatever should take place with Great Britain; all orders already given in connection with that country ought to be countermanded. The British nation was declared to be one of pirates and bandits; its commerce must be destroyed; a powerful navy must be constructed for this purpose; the army must be strengthened. English was no longer to be taught in Portuguese schools.

Serpa Pimental and his colleagues did what they could, little enough it proved, towards bringing soothing influences to bear upon the people. They allowed free elections; one result of which was that the original cause of the troubles, Serpa Pinto, was a successful candidate in three places. Lisbon placed him at the head of the poll. He was the man of the hour: portraits of him were everywhere prominent. In September, when the Cortes opened and the agreement meantime arrived at with Great Britain in regard to East Africa came up for discussion, there was a general renewal of the gradually quieting down disturbances. The ministers were received with hisses and soon made their exit.

One alarming feature in this prevailing disquiet was the prominence which the Republicans assumed. They were readily able to stir up the masses in Lisbon and Oporto. In the former city, at the local elections, they drew over to themselves many of the Liberals. As to their Press or their meetings, they had hitherto usually enjoyed no small freedom. This the Government considered they had now so abused, that many of their papers were suppressed and their clubs were closed. The fate of the latter was also shared by the Lisbon Municipal Council and a students' polytechnic. More ominous was it that a Commission was soon sitting, with a view to investigate the spread of Republicanism in the army. Portugal, however, considering its many connecting links with Brazil, could hardly fail, at this juncture, to catch some infection from the proclamation there of a republic.

Sousa, the new Prime Minister, who, in October, 1890, went to the helm with another Coalition Cabinet, almost entirely reconstructed in the following May, had barely commenced his pilotage before he was confronted with a most seriously embarrassed financial state of affairs, which lasted for some years. During the excitement against Great Britain, when wild cries were raised that the African claims must be enforced, even if needful by an appeal to arms, nearly every tax had been increased 6 per cent. Nevertheless the Budget of 1891, amounting to less than ten millions sterling, showed a deficit of one million. Public works, and to some extent education, had to be stopped. Every class of security fell. Cash payments were suspended ; the country was flooded with paper money ; even workmen had to be paid with it. Small tradings and over-the-counter businesses were brought to a standstill. By the end of the year it was evident that the interest on the external debt could not be paid, nor that guaranteed by the State upon railways. Outside creditors demanded a share in the administration of the financial affairs of the country. This was, of course, refused, and with much exuberant indignation. Meantime the King gave up a fifth of his Civil List, considerable reductions were effected in the consular services, and the salaries of all officials were curtailed.

After Sousa had failed to deliver Portugal from these entangling meshes, Dias Ferreira, with a composite Cabinet, was in office for about a year, when Hintze Ribeiro formed a Regenerator Administration which lasted four years. During all this time the financial straits continued. Fresh taxes were

imposed, with a chief result that the attempt to collect them threw the country, especially the large towns, into a state of disquiet. The representatives of several of the Powers complained that the interests of foreigners, as bondholders, were being sacrificed in favour of the Portuguese; and as the Lisbon Government continued, seemingly, to be of opinion that charity ought to begin at home, no satisfaction was obtainable. Unfortunately, too, there were colonial troubles all round. In East Africa a determined attempt was made on the part of the natives to throw off the Portuguese rule altogether. In Goa and Timur mutinies of native troops occurred. Diplomatic relations with Brazil were broken off, owing to the assistance afforded by Portuguese men-of-war, on the station, to some bodies of insurgents in arms against the Republic.

Clerical affairs also assumed a noisy prominence, owing to an attack upon a procession intended to draw the attention of the Government to the necessity of enforcing upon the people a more strict observance of their religious duties. With this was re-awakened the long-standing Conventual question; the situation being embittered by the intimation of the Pope that King Carlos would not be received at the Vatican should he visit his royal relatives in Rome. Once again, in 1895, the Government assumed the power of ruling by decrees, and in such important Constitutional matters as reducing the number of members of each Chamber, and altering the electoral law so as to restrict the franchise. A bad vintage year, an unsettlement in the wine trade and the railway systems, also occurred during this Administration, which, on the opening of the Cortes in 1897, found itself so ill supported in the Upper Chamber that Hintze Ribeiro, after the King had refused to sanction the creation of additional life peers, resigned in February.

Castro followed with a Liberal Cabinet; yet his chief difficulty was with the Republicans, who, after refusing to take part in the General Election of this year, virulently assailed, in their speeches and their Press, each Government measure in succession. Nor did they hesitate to extend their attacks to members of the Royal Family. This led to a stringent Press law, to domiciliary visits, and a number of arrests. Each year Conservatives and Republicans joined their forces in condemnation of the financial policy of the Government. Foreigners, it was maintained, would be unduly benefited by the proposed treatment of the various classes of bondholders; at the same

time, the representatives of other Powers were insisting that the interests of those whom it was their duty to protect were being sacrificed. A settlement was patched up by means of a compromise of repudiation and doles. Under Hintze Ribeiro, who was again in office by the middle of 1900, a difficulty, which might have assumed a serious form, arose in regard to the war then in progress between Great Britain and the Boer Republics. The Portuguese Cabinet was no doubt anxious that its declaration of neutrality should be adhered to; but its agents at Lorenzo Marquez were discovered to be conniving at the passage of men and arms into the country in aid of the Republics. Between the two Governments in Europe, however, amicable relations were successfully maintained, and a British fleet which visited Lisbon received a most cordial welcome, though the Republican leanings of the ever restless students of Coimbra University prompted them to send a sympathetic telegram to Mr. Kruger.

This tenure of office by Hintze Ribeiro and his Regenerators continued for more than four years: a period not marked by any events of leading importance. A commencement of the new century was made by a general amnesty for political and Press offences, though a year or so later several newspapers were summarily suspended, and a general unrest in the country had extended in some degree to the army. Meantime the Treasury Department discovered no escape from its embarrassments—that is, from Budget deficits and the discontents of holders of external debt scrip. One of its measures, a reduction of the dividend, led to a somewhat formidable agitation against what was held to be an unjustifiably arbitrary procedure. Adding to this there were religious disturbances, evoked by a dispute in regard to the admission of a girl to a nunnery. An opening was thus afforded for a general and legitimate outcry against the conventual system, which its votaries, in spite of the law, were ever striving to re-establish. On more than one occasion devotional processions were intruded upon by street mobs. As usual, the Republicans took full advantage of all such opportunities for embittering the lower orders against constituted authority, while the university students were rarely backward in adding to every chance fermentation. After three Dissolutions, and more than that number of changes of Finance Ministers, this Administration of Hintze Ribeiro broke up, in October, 1904, on the refusal of the King to sanction a prorogation of the Cortes.

The Liberals under Castro now came to the helm, but showed as little desire as their predecessors to be hampered by lengthy sessions of the Cortes, especially as a seceding section of their party was soon making common cause with the Regenerators. Partly for this reason they obtained, in September, 1905, an adjournment to January of the following year. In so doing they acted against the Constitution: they suspended it, in short, in order to govern by decrees. Castro's Ministry was, however, defeated in February, 1906, and Hintze Ribeiro called upon to assume power. His tenure of it was of the briefest: on this occasion, too, he resigned owing to the King refusing to prorogue the Cortes. In May a Cabinet was formed under Franco. Its members styled themselves New Regenerators, and with their advent the King determined upon an attempt at a general purification of the political conditions of the country. True patriotism, he maintained, had been lost sight of by every Administration in turn, whatever its composition or professions. The power, even the desire, to introduce really salutary reforms had vanished. Regenerators and Liberals alike were eager only to obtain for themselves, their relations, and friends the largest possible share of official posts, salaries, and perquisites. The Cortes formed but an arena for vituperation and invective. Corruption was rampant in every State department.

In order to change effectively this degenerate situation, the King and his chief minister came to the decision that a justifiable course was to take affairs into their own hands. A Dictatorship was accordingly established, though with the praiseworthy intention of giving some dignity and access of prosperity to their country in its hapless plight. But the substitution of a rule by decree for legal legislative procedure, though often previously resorted to, evoked on this occasion an opposition as malignant as it was determined. Even the most loyal of Monarchists gave expression to their disapproval of this arbitrary system of governing; and every one with the smallest anxiety that Constitutional forms should be respected had a just complaint when, in May, 1907, the Cortes were dissolved without any date being fixed for a General Election. To the resentment thus caused must be added the alarms of holders of offices which were likely to be swept away. Republicanism naturally waxed bold at this assumption of royal prerogative. All the usual agitators and ever-ready disturbers of public order were soon in full activity. Schemes of violence

were concerted, arms smuggled into the country, and attempts made to tamper with the loyalty of the troops.

Thus menaced, the Government took upon itself powers more and more high-handed. Many newspapers were suppressed. Commissions were appointed to take the place of existing local governing bodies. A suspension was decreed of the immunities enjoyed by members of the Cortes. Several men who had sat in the last Assembly were arrested. Political offenders were sent for trial before specially created tribunals. The police of the capital, an ill-regulated, inquisitorial body of men, were allowed a very free hand, with the result that cases of bloodshed were not long in occurring. Apart, however, from the large towns, the country generally remained tranquil. If the people in the rural districts heard at all that they were being misgoverned, it was probably through reports, designedly circulated, to the effect that their Sovereigns had ceased to care for their welfare, and were intent only upon personal aggrandisement at the expense of the poor.

On the other hand, in Lisbon, the increasing animosity could hardly fail to bring about a revolutionary convulsion of some description. What followed was a terrible tragedy which thrilled with grief the whole world. On February 1, 1908, as the King, the Queen, and their two sons were driving through Lisbon, on their return from Villa Viçosa, they were assailed at about five o'clock in the evening by a band of assassins. The King and the Crown Prince received bullet-wounds from which they died almost immediately. Most fortunately the Queen passed through the fearful ordeal unharmed. Manuel, their only other son, was slightly wounded. He was proclaimed King on the following day.

CHAPTER XV

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

CANOVAS del Castillo now once more, on the resignation of Sagasta in March, 1895, became Premier in Spain; by which time the country's political affairs were so entangled with those of Cuba, and by consequence with those of the United States, that some retrospect of transatlantic history becomes here necessary. When Continental South America was lost to Spain, there still adhered to her the valuable islands Puerto Rico and Cuba. In the latter, during the general emancipation period, occurred movements akin to those which had first disturbed the southern continent. Secret societies were formed, some risings took place; there was, in short, the aspiration for freedom from Spanish rule; but, mingling with this, an inclination no less evident to link the island to the United States. Barring the way, however, stood a thorny embarrassment—the slavery question. The South American Governments, during the process of emancipation, had set free their slaves. Cuba could not well avoid following the example. But the sudden liberation of some four hundred thousand blacks was a prospect which no other class in the island regarded without feelings of apprehension. Later, it may here be mentioned, as the antagonism quickened between Extensionist and Abolitionist parties in the United States, this same question acted as a deterrent against either union or intervention. Cuba as a Slave State or a Free State made all the difference. The South was little eager to admit to fellowship Cuba, with her thousands of freed negroes: the North was no less averse to the addition of another slave-holding State.

As to Spanish rule within the island, at the head of affairs was a Captain-General, who usually looked firstly to his own interests, then to those of the mother country, and lastly, if at

all, to those of the mixed population in respect to which he held very extended powers. A swarm of officials, following one another from Spain, acted much upon the same lines. To all of them the existence of slavery was a source of profit. Rarely indeed had a Cuban born the chance of a lucrative Government employment. The concessions of 1812, and of other times of Liberal ascendancy, as to representation in the Cortes, had, as a rule, been withdrawn or rendered valueless. In short, the inhabitants of the island had practically no voice, general or local, in its administration. It was burdened with a heavy annual remittance to the mother country. Restrictions on commerce and taxations of products hampered a trade which should have been one of the most splendid in the world.

In the main this authorised rapacity, as it may be called, was merely a matter between Spain and Cuba. But in addition there were frequent cases, on the part of subordinates, of altogether illegal exactions, of embargos, confiscations, and general obstructiveness. Such of these as occurred at the ports, in connection with custom-houses, harbour dues, and so on, seriously interfered wtth the transaction of business by the large number of Americans who, amongst others, had been brought to the island by trade openings. Complaints remained unheeded, or were only answered *viâ* Madrid and Washington. In this way, ever since the early part of the nineteenth century, there had been a want of cordiality between the United States and Cuba. Spaniards had always regarded the existence of the Republic as a main cause of the loss of their colonies. If this was unreasonable, they were not without some well-grounded vexatiousness. Several filibustering expeditions, intent on the liberation of Cuba, had been prepared in the United States. Many speeches intensely galling to Spanish pride had been delivered in Congress. The American Eagle, one orator expounded, having whetted its beak in Mexico, was preparing for an early swoop down upon the villainous horde of corrupt tyrants and priests who were blighting by their presence the Pearl of the Antilles. And so forth, session after session. On the other hand there continued to be a sober-minded section of men, high in authority in the States, who saw that as yet there was no case for forcible intervention. Should Spain be disposed to sell the island, well and good. Feelers on the subject were now and again put forward. Meanwhile volumes of correspondence were accumulating in regard to minor international breaches of the peace, commercial restraints, and the grievances

of Amercans resident in the island, all everlastingly spun out by the habitually dilatory methods of Spanish diplomacy.

The various outbreaks in Cuba against Spanish rule may be passed over until that of 1868, when there commenced a state of civil warfare which lasted, with more or less violence, for ten whole years. In all the causes were the same: a despotic Government ruling at the bayonet's point; arbitrary arrests, frequently followed by executions without any form of trial; oppressive and capricious taxation; law courts flagrantly corrupt. On the occasion now to be spoken of the insurrection broke out in the east of the island; but it was soon everywhere manifest that Spain by her procedure had embittered alike Cubans, creoles, half-castes, and blacks. They were all ready to take up arms against her. Cespedes, a lawyer who set free his slaves and whose example was followed by others, was appointed President of a Provisional Government. A Constitution was formulated. Cuba was to become a free and independent republic. Slavery was declared to be abolished. A Commander-in-Chief was found in Quesada, who had conveyed a supply of arms and warlike stores to the island. Cuban bonds came into existence and a national flag. Mexico, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru recognised the insurgents as belligerents. The House of Representatives at Washington gave expression to its readiness to support President Johnson should he follow a like course. Hence a Cuban Junta which was established at New York enjoyed considerable latitude of action.

There were few Spanish troops in the island when the outbreak occurred; and as a state of warfare lasted from the year of Isabella's flight, through the Interregnum, the reign of Amadeus and the two years of the Republic, until Alfonso had been some time upon the throne, we see how terribly onerous the position was for the mother country. The spirit in which the campaigning was likely to be conducted quickly revealed itself. One early act of the Revolutionary Government was to issue a proclamation giving freedom to all the slaves; they were soon incited to a general destruction of the sugar plantations and estates of their owners. Before long General Dulce, the Spanish commander, found himself the object of hostile demonstrations on the part of his troops, because his measures against the enemy seemed to them not sufficiently drastic. He was sent back to Spain. In his aid had been embodied the Volunteers of Havana, to the number of many thousands. They proved quite beyond control. On one occasion they

surrounded a theatre and fired upon the audience. In 1871, at Havana, they shot outright eight students, whom they accused of desecrating the graves of some soldiers who had died fighting against the insurgents. The weakness of authority is further shown from the fact that the explanation, offered to the Madrid Government, was that the responsible officer had been obliged to consent to the sacrifice of these unfortunate young men, in order to prevent the slaughter of forty-five others who were in the hands of the Volunteers.

It followed that while the war dragged on its checkered course, both sides were drawn into the commission of terrible barbarities, including the shooting of prisoners in cold blood. The unfortunate insurgents, only partially armed and clad, lived as best they could; betaking themselves after defeat to inaccessible districts, and reappearing in the field as favourable opportunities for reprisal seemed to offer themselves; yet ever from their hardships and losses becoming more and more embittered against their foes. Scarcely less pitiable was the plight of the Spanish troops, frequently decimated by yellow fever or small-pox, always with large numbers prostrated by malarial fevers. The deaths are stated to have averaged ten thousand yearly. In order to fill up the gaps Spain had, throughout much of the period, only a disorganised army to draw upon. Naturally men tried to avoid being drafted for a service whence so few returned. Sustained action was, moreover, frustrated by the succession of political convulsions in the Peninsula. Statesmen there always had their hands full: Spaniards in Cuba never knew what the morrow might bring forth. The conflict of parties in the motherland was reproduced, to some extent, on the other side of the Atlantic, where it was felt acutely enough that the old order of things, including slavery, could scarcely continue under a republic. Measures against the revolutionists were thus liable to be weakened by friction. Finally, there was not wanting those who exercised their influence towards prolonging hostilities on account of the immense profits accruing to them from contracts.

In 1873 occurred the tragic affair of the *Virginius*, a vessel which, while engaged in conveying men and munitions of war to assist the insurgents, was captured and taken to Santiago da Cuba, where the captain and nearly sixty others of those who had been on board were shot. Amongst them there were several subjects of Great Britain and the United States. The barbarity of this act caused an outburst of indignation

throughout the whole civilised world. In the States a feeling of anger ran so high that what amounted, practically, to an ultimatum was sent to Madrid; a naval force was equipped and war seemed inevitable. The fact that Spain was at this time a republic perhaps somewhat mollified public opinion; allowance was made for the dismaying state of anarchy with which she was contending at home; nor could dispassionate Americans well forget the bitterness of feeling and international embarrassments to which their own civil war had given rise. Castelar, then chief minister at Madrid, considered himself compelled to admit responsibility. He gave way on all points. An indemnity was paid.

This, of course, brought no solution of the larger issues involved. Many speeches were made in Congress, some advocating annexation of the island, some its purchase, others that the Cubans should be recognised as belligerents, that an autonomous government should be insisted on for them, or that they should be helped outright to establish a republic. On the other hand, there was a strong party against annexation, for it was felt that the administration of the island would present numberless difficulties. It was contended also that the Cubans were altogether unfitted for self-government, and that the Republic of Cuba would quickly become one of the South American type, a very undesirable near neighbour. The Extension fever, too, which had inflamed a previous generation had now sensibly abated. Moreover, many of the leaders of the insurrection were mere adventurers, having no connecting ties with the island. Half of the complaints of ill-usage and confiscation, from so-called American subjects, were bogus attempts on the part of men whose claims to having been naturalised were equally mendacious. The United States had already on its hands a Cuban Junta which, as openly as it dared, was shipping off to the island volunteers, arms, and ammunition. A set of men had to be dealt with who were making use of Cuban affairs purely for electioneering purposes, as a means to intrigue against and circumvent political adversaries.

Under such-like conditions, diplomatically between the two countries, the ten years' war pursued its course. The Republic frequently expostulated, occasionally it despatched men-of-war to the scene, while Spain procrastinated, made promises, and evaded them. We cannot, the Madrid Government asseverated, treat with rebels; let them first put down their arms and then the reforms will follow. Finally, by the early

part of 1878 the insurrection had burnt itself out rather than been extinguished. Cespedes had been captured and shot some years before. Leaders, fighting-men, and governing bodies now surrendered, influenced in some cases by bribery, but in the main by promises of self-government and political rights. These were never as a reality obtained. During 1880, however, the abolition of slavery by a gradual process commenced, and in the following year the Constitution as it existed in the mother country was made applicable to Cuba. But the administration of the island remained practically as before. A Captain-General with unlimited powers was maintained. Cubans were excluded from all influential posts as well as, for any useful purpose, from the Madrid Cortes.

Arms had been laid down in 1878 upon the assurance that all this would be changed. Instead of the promised amendments there was an increase in the taxes, and these paid the cost of the war which had subdued Cuba as well as of the troops which continued to browbeat the inhabitants. They defrayed also the pensions of a horde of corrupt judges, and other officials, after they had retired from the colony with their ill-gotten gains, to live in luxury in Spain. Another grievance was that Spanish goods had free admittance into Cuba, while those from the island were taxed upon landing in Spain. Public meetings were forbidden, the Press was fettered. Security of person or of property there was none. Thus acted upon, the revolutionary feeling was again by 1894 fully roused. Armed or unarmed, the inhabitants of the island began to gather around insurgent leaders. By the middle of the following year a fierce civil war was in progress; railway lines were being destroyed, many private houses and sugar estates being burnt by the revolutionists. At first the demand was merely for autonomy—for some such relations as exist between Great Britain and her colonies. But it was soon plain that the bulk of those who had taken up arms aimed either at confederation with the United States or at absolute independence. Spain, their Press asseverated, has broken faith so often that it would be blind folly to trust her again.

In Spain, though the Government was faced with a deficit; though there had been a famine almost in some parts of the land; though Anarchists with their bombs and Socialists at their meetings were in somewhat fierce evidence; though there were portents of a military revolt following the discreditable fracas, already spoken of, between officers and

journalists in the capital; though the Carlists were plotting—notwithstanding these and other alarming signs of the times at home, the heads of parties rallied to the Regent, voted supplies, and thus facilitated the despatch of troops to the theatre of conflict, where success and defeat were alternating after the not unusual course of guerrilla warfare, and where yellow fever and dysentery were adding largely, especially in the case of the Spaniards, to the casualties incurred in fighting in a mountainous, thickly-wooded country having but few roads.

Plainly, in following the course of events in Spain and in Cuba, we see how a restoration of harmony between them was becoming more and more impossible. Sagasta, who by the way had at one time proclaimed that the whole world did not contain gold enough to purchase the island, entrusted Martinez Campos with the conduct of the war in 1895, and under his command a policy of conciliation was certainly attempted. Measures, too, were discussed in the Cortes and approved, offering self-government by such means as a Common Assembly, a Council of Notables, and local legislature. But, both in the island and at home, there were influential parties averse to any form of autonomy. At all events there must be submission first, they demanded, and then let self-government follow. Overtures made in this manner could hardly be acceptable: they were, in short, declined, especially when the insurgents began to recognise that intervention on the part of the United States was likely at last to become a reality. Martinez Campos was recalled, and was hooted in the streets of Madrid on his return.

Early in 1896 he was succeeded by General Weyler. The significance of this appointment may be gathered from the fact that he had already been nicknamed "The Butcher." Part of his system consisted in prohibiting production, and in burning and ravaging the disaffected portions of the island, to such an extent as to render it impossible for the inhabitants to eke out an existence. But this was by no means the most cruel part. The procedure, which places him amongst the most pitiless of men who have ever wielded authority, was the formation of concentration camps, into which peaceful inhabitants of the island were driven wholesale, and there herded together, with very much less consideration than is usually accorded to cattle upon a ranch. Appalling were the sufferings thus endured, especially by the women and children. Of those

who had to travel from afar, many died by the way. The ragged, emaciated, diseased condition of these hapless victims need not be enlarged upon. It has been calculated that the total deaths amongst them, to the time of the intervention of the United States, had amounted to two hundred thousand.

Meantime the Washington Government was being confronted by an outcry against such barbarities. Many Cubans by birth had their homes permanently in the States : a very large number of Americans had within the island vested interests which were becoming swallowed up wholesale in the general ruin. Thus, to sympathy and a sense of outrage, strong vindictive feelings were gradually added ; at the same time that resentment in Spain was embittered at the organisation, upon States' territory, of expeditions intent upon conveying men and warlike stores to the island. Although many of these were frustrated, others attained their ends. How strained relations were becoming is seen in the President's Message of December, 1896, where, after reference to the flagrant inability of Spain to terminate so purposeless a sacrifice of life, the possible necessity of intervention is set forth. Congress, in one form or another, had gone much beyond this. The war was condemned ; it ought at least to be conducted according to modern principles ; the insurgents must be recognised as belligerents ; humanity demanded mediation ; the independence of Cuba as a republic must be acknowledged. During the debates Weyler and the Spanish Government were frequently held up to censure. All this, exasperating to the people of Spain, gave rise to counter accusations and angry demonstrations against the United States, where it seemed to be the deliberate aim of a certain section of the Press to render war inevitable.

Thus 1897 opened ominously ; though President McKinley, who succeeded to office in March of that year, exercised to some extent a calming influence. Negotiations led to the adjustment of certain claims between the two countries, and Spain facilitated the distribution, to the non-combatants, of the succours contributed by a vote of Congress and private sympathy. Weyler was recalled and an amnesty offered to the insurgents. A temperate Annual Message followed. In Spain, too, Queen Christina made every effort to preserve peace ; and in this she was seconded by the two chief statesmen of her Regency ; though Canovas was not fated to witness the disastrous events which we are nearing. In August, 1897, he was assassinated. Great was the sorrow of a nation whose gratitude he had well

merited; for the tranquillity of Spain during his Dictatorships, as his opponents have branded his administrations, was in a large measure due to his practical statesmanship. He ruled tactfully, upon lines giving him assistance from some of the most worthy members of the two chief parties in the country. He well knew the true value of an amnesty. By his historical writings and general accessibility he gained supporters in public life, friends in private. He certainly, while exhibiting Alfonso XII. as a Constitutional monarch, reduced the Cortes almost to impotence. Nor was his political conscience tender where partisanship was to be had by purchasing it. The upright honesty of his private life he made little attempt to apply to affairs of State. Early in October Sagasta was once more Spain's Prime Minister.

The advent of 1898 witnessed the actual installation of self-government in Cuba, inasmuch as on the 1st of January a local Ministry was formed. But Spain was manifestly averse to those full concessions which might yet have possibly saved the situation. Many judicial and other appointments were as before to be filled up from home. Consequently the mother country was as wholly distrusted as ever, and her overtures no less decisively declined by the insurgents, who, in addition to having declared their independence, had elected a President of their Republic, had framed a Constitution, set up a Provisional Government, and were systematically collecting taxes. Indeed, for some time now "Independence or Death!" had been their war-cry. The struggle then went on with no diminution of ferocity; though the concentration camps were somewhat purified, but were not done away with as had been promised. An increasing abhorrence, partly real, partly fictitious, within the States in regard to this harrowing warfare manifested itself. The clamour for intervention waxed louder and louder. At the same time the Spanish people became more and more incensed at this outcry, as well as at the excesses of the insurgents and at the indirect aid which they were receiving from the United States. Both countries prepared for hostilities.

At this critical conjuncture, during the first quarter of 1898, when the rising current of animosity was plainly overflooding all chances of compromise or of peaceful mediation, there occurred two events which, as was inevitable, gave no small impetus to that current. A private letter from the Spanish ambassador at Washington, Dupuy de Lôme, to a friend at Havana was stolen and made public. In this he had spoken very

disparagingly of the American Government, President McKinley being referred to as "a low-class politician." A demand for the ambassador's recall was made. The Spanish Government then announced that de Lôme had resigned. But this was not considered as sufficing : he must be formally recalled, censured, and the facts given publicity to in the *Official Gazette.*

The second of these events was of an appalling nature. With a view to afford protection, if necessary, to American subjects at Havana, the battleship *Maine* had been sent there early in 1898, though it was urged by the city authorities that the presence of a man-of-war would tend rather to embroil such bad feeling as already existed. On the night of February 15th an explosion occurred which blew up and sank the *Maine.* To this day a certain amount of mystery hangs around the catastrophe ; but investigation seemingly established the fact that the vessel was mine-exploded from without ; thus causing a second explosion in one of her magazines. The destruction was sudden, terrible, and complete : nearly two hundred and seventy of those on board perished at the time or died afterwards. American and Spanish courts of inquiry recorded opposite opinions as to the calamitous event : the former as above given, the latter to the the effect that the explosion had originated internally. Responsible Spanish authority may be fully acquitted of all connivance ; though as the war made progress and light was thrown upon the miscarriages in that country's submarine services, the opinion strengthened that ignorance or neglect might easily enough have sent the *Maine* to the bottom of the harbour of Havana.

Following this, a vehement demand throughout the United States for intervention became, it may be said, uncontrollable. A war spirit in the nation was thoroughly aroused. Fifty million dollars were voted for national defence. The replies of Spain to the President's final efforts, which might still have averted hostilities, were held to be a continuance of the methods of procrastination and prevarication which had for years so embittered relations between the two countries. On the 11th of April the President asked Congress to, in brief, empower him to intervene in Cuban affairs. This was readily enough granted. Spain must—such in sum were terms of the ultimatum—relinquish her sovereignty over the island, and withdraw from it all her land and sea forces. Confronted with this menace, the Madrid Government had to take into account the probability of a revolution at home if compliance were granted : the chances,

too, of a Carlist rising, and the possible overthrow of the dynasty. It is idle to speculate further. The demands of the United States were rejected. By the end of the third week in April the two nations were at war. For this Spain, in regard to her army, navy, and financial condition, was about as ill-prepared as a country could well be. Her antagonist possessed, indeed, only land and sea forces which might, numerically speaking, be considered of little account. Two facts, however, were full of significance. Volunteers to the extent of two hundred thousand in number were called for from the United States: nearly a million men offered their services. A loan was invited of two hundred million dollars: about seven times that sum was quickly at the President's disposal.

The Philippine Islands were destined to witness the first decisive onset of the war. Here, at Manila, was a Spanish fleet which, consisting as it did of eleven vessels, ought to have proved no mean adversary. But though for some months the chances of hostilities had been passing from the possible to the probable, the strangest contempt and apathy seem to have prevailed upon land no less than throughout the ships. Worn-out boilers, leaky hulls, broken-down machinery, ancient land defences, inefficient torpedo apparatus—all these defects were there and so remained until the day of battle.

The headquarters of the American Asiatic squadron was Hong Kong, where, on the declaration of hostilities, a concentration was effected and orders were received to proceed to Manila. Admiral Dewey, a man of unhesitating determination and a cool calculator of chances, was in command. Already the four months, since the beginning of 1898, had been utilised towards placing his vessels in thorough fighting order and obtaining the necessary supplies of coal and ammunition. By the 27th of April Dewey was steaming for his destination, with crews buoyant in spirits and confident of success. His fleet contained no regular ironclads, no torpedo-boats: it was made up of the protected cruisers *Olympia*, *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, and *Boston*, with the gunboats *Concord* and *Petrel*. During the three days which separated him from the Philippines all the final preparations for an engagement were completed. On nearing the west of Luzon, reconnoitring confirmed the supposition that the enemy would be found within the harbour of Manila.

Here in the city a boastful feeling among the Spaniards, that an attack would certainly be beaten off, was by no means shared by merchants and others who were acquainted with the respec-

tive character traits of the two nations. The commander of the Spanish fleet, Admiral Montojo, seems himself to have been under no delusion as to its shortcomings. Yet nothing was done. The old and inferior armament could not indeed be changed; but the very important repairs or renewments, of which every ship was to a considerable extent in want, could surely have been carried into effect from the resources of so considerable a town as Manila. Target practice, here as elsewhere, had been almost totally neglected. It was even at one time proposed to remove all the guns and ammunition to shore, for use there, and leave the hulks in such a condition that they could be destroyed if likely to fall into the hands of the enemy. In the end, so little was Montojo confident of success, that he changed a position first selected for a worse one, which, however, afforded better facilities for the escape of his crews in the more than probable event that their ships would be sunk.

Admiral Dewey's information was to the effect that the entrance to Manila Bay, about eleven miles broad, was mined, and that the forts, three centuries old, by the way, were being strengthened. Assuming, however, from the Spanish character and methods, that these most important services would be carried out in an inadequate, haphazard fashion, he decided, regardless of mines or batteries, upon forcing his way through, and in darkness. At eleven o'clock on the last night of April this daring venture was launched upon, the Admiral himself leading the way in the *Olympia*. All lights were extinguished except one in the stern of each vessel to guide that which followed. The night, however, was not wholly dark: a moon kept struggling to assert itself through a partly overcast sky, from which a few showers descended at intervals. Summer lightning occasionally played around the scene. Onward glided the vessels at the rate of about ten miles an hour, until the silence was broken by a rocket shooting up from one of the islands which stud the mouth of the bay. Other signals followed, a few shots were exchanged; then the squadron had steamed, without a scratch, into the broad expanse of some seven hundred square miles stretching onwards to the city of Manila. Torpedoes and mines, it was afterwards ascertained, had indeed been laid, but in a manner altogether useless.

On the following morning, soon after five o'clock, the invading squadron was off Manila, with its lighted streets and more prominent buildings clearly discernible. Turning when opposite the city, Dewey headed for Cavite, some ten miles distant,

where Montojo, under such protection as the defences there could afford, had moored his ill-provided ships, eleven in number, across a small bay. No naval action could well admit of a more easy description than that which followed. Dewey's vessels, steaming slowly from end to end of their adversary's position, poured in discharges of shell which effectively penetrated hulls, exploded ammunition, wrecked guns, and swept away funnels and rigging. While great was the damage thus caused, no less detrimental was the confusion which arose amongst the Spanish ships, from their undermanned, inefficient condition, their half-trained and ill-disciplined crews. The firing of the latter as well as from the forts was excessively wild and faulty, the result partly of worthless ammunition. Practically it produced no effect whatever.

The American squadron having traversed the whole front of its opponent's line, turned, retraced its course, turned again, in continuation of this one-sided action, until altogether it had passed up or down five times. Of these courses, about an hour and a half was occupied with the first three: before the fourth Montojo had determined to attempt a sally out against his deadly assailants. He himself gave the lead, after signalling to his captains to second him. But the venture was hopeless. Two launches which accompanied him were quickly disabled: his own ship, after having received a murderous shelling, turned back in flames with almost every gun, as well as her steering apparatus, crippled. She was run into shallow water, abandoned, and then sank down.

At this juncture Admiral Dewey gave the signal to cease fire and draw off into the middle of the bay. For a brief interval the Spaniards were exultant in the belief that they had achieved a success. The reason, however, was that a mistake had been made in the report, signalled to the Admiral, as to the amount of ammunition remaining, and he feared to allow the supply to run any lower. Some of the ships' crews grumbled at the interruption, but were told that it was in order to give leisure for breakfast; and as the heat had been stiflingly oppressive the pause was generally welcomed. Then the captains met in conference on board the *Olympia*, where the astounding fact transpired that there were but half a dozen men or so wounded in the whole squadron. It was found, too, that 15 per cent. only of the ammunition had been expended, not that 15 per cent. remained as erroneously reported. Moreover, as the dense smoke from the gunpowder cleared, the pitiable plight of the

enemy began to be apparent. Two vessels at least were seen to be in flames, and explosions had been noticed on others.

Again, in this predicament, the Spanish ships were assailed. By this time they had been withdrawn, as far as possible, from the mouth of Bakor Bay into shallow water. In some of them, close to the wharves, already effect was being given to Montojo's orders that, when further defence was seen to be hopeless, the ships were to be set fire to and the crews landed. To this further onslaught of the American fleet, standing in as near as the depth of the water permitted, there was practically no reply. In order to complete the work of destruction, two of Dewey's smaller vessels were pushed forward. Soon every one of Montojo's ships had either been burnt or sunk. A surveying vessel together with some tugs and launches were the only prizes. No further attempt was made by the batteries on shore to continue the struggle, and a white flag was run up at the arsenal. The battle had resulted in a loss of 167 killed and 214 wounded to the Spaniards, who, officers and men alike, had shown great individual gallantry in circumstances cruelly disheartening. Amongst the few Americans wounded there were no serious cases. The damage to their squadron was of the most trivial description.

During the earlier part of the day the Manila city forts had attempted to co-operate, but to no useful purpose, as their shots all fell short. Later it was intimated to the authorities there that, if this continued, the place would be bombarded, a threat which had the desired effect. The United States fleet now steamed to opposite Manila, and there anchored while Admiral Dewey demanded its surrender. This was refused, and as he had no force available for attacking and occupying the place, operations in the Philippines were suspended until the arrival, two months later, of troops from the States. Meantime a blockade was instituted, and the insurgents continued to gather strength in their attacks upon the suburbs. At Cavite the useful arsenal there and the batteries passed into the hands of the Americans, who found ample evidence of that same want of foresight and prostration of all energy which had been so glaring in the case of the fleet. It is but fair to state that, months before, stores and war material had been telegraphed for, but had never come to hand. The feeble defensive works at the entrance to the bay also surrendered, and an investigation as to the laying there of torpedoes disclosed the fact that certain of the class, which are intended to be held in position

so as to explode on the impact of a ship's hull, had been simply dropped casually in the channel and had sunk, in some cases in very deep water.

The declared aim of the United States and the position of Cuba, with its capital Havana, only ninety miles distant from Key West, where an American naval force had been for some time assembling, pointed to the certainty that, on the commencement of hostilities, the island must become the centre of important operations. Yet the task which the Americans had set themselves, of driving the Spaniards out bag and baggage from Cuba, could not with a very small existing army and navy be entered upon all at once. The Spanish fleet when strengthened from home would assume formidable dimensions. Within the island fighting against the insurgents were about one hundred and seventy thousand men of various classes, though of these a large number were in hospital, and the whole may be said to have been sick at heart. Moreover, as soon as war became imminent there arose in many American coast towns and even villages a clamour for protection, for cruisers, for the erection of forts, and the laying down of mines. Hence a blockade of a portion of Cuba, under Admiral Sampson, was the only measure that could for some time be taken in hand. The chance captures of Spanish merchant vessels occurred; there were exchanges of shot between the blockaders and a few coast towns, together with some cable cutting, which failed, however, to sever communication with the mother country.

Glancing for a moment at the internal condition of the island, the situation, in briefest words, was that after three years of guerrilla warfare the insurgents had established an ascendancy in all the eastern districts. Seemingly, only about thirty thousand of them altogether could be classified as armed and equipped; nevertheless, they had here been successful in many engagements, had captured several towns of importance, had invested others and rendered it very hazardous for their adversaries to traverse the country except in strong columns. Westwards, owing to the cities, harbours, forces, and better communications at the disposal of the Spaniards, they were able to hold the inhabitants more under control, though the insurgents everywhere, even at Havana itself, were making their presence felt.

Turning to Spain, we find, in naval affairs, a state contrasting ominously with the spirit of the people across the Atlantic, now applying the fullest energy and resourcefulness towards enhan-

cing their sea power. The fleet which Spain was about to despatch to the scene of operations was made up of four armoured cruisers and three torpedo-boat destroyers. In command was Cervera, probably the most skilful Admiral the country could boast of. To a brave and chivalrous nature was added great consideration for his crews, as well as a desire to wage war upon the most humane principles. He was, however, so aware of the inefficiency of his ships, that the painful duty was imposed upon him of protesting against their despatch. Naval manœuvres and gun practice had been neglected. The boilers were in many cases nearly worn out; the guns were defective; ammunition was short; there were on board no accurate charts of the waters in which he would soon be operating. Even at Cadiz he was unable to procure a full supply of coal and biscuit. Were victory to be vouchsafed to him, it would, he declared, be contrary to all human calculation. His captains agreed with him, and a report was sent to Madrid; in reply he received orders to proceed to the West Indies. On April 29th he steamed out from the Cape de Verde islands, fully convinced, as he said, that a second Trafalgar was in preparation for Spain.

Cervera's broken-winged fleet, which for an anxious period vanished totally from the ken of the world, soon assumed a phantom form. Captains of merchant vessels reported it as seen by them sailing eastwards; others had come across it sailing westwards. Was it bound for far-distant Manila? Was it intent upon raiding the coastland of the United States? Genuine information there was to the effect that munitions, essential to the defence of Havana, had been shipped in home waters; accordingly the approaches to the West Indies were more vigilantly patrolled; yet without obtaining a glimpse of the real Cervera, who, hampered by a want of coal and his leaky boilers, was compelled towards the middle of May to reveal himself off the islands of Martinique and Curaçoa. Scouts were hurried towards this locality, but without avail; while Cervera in the end, after missing at one point an American vessel by a bare hour, steamed unobserved, on May 19th, into Santiago de Cuba at the eastern end of the island. It was not, of course, possible that he could remain there concealed, though it was reported with much confidence that he had quitted it, also that he was assuredly at Cienfuegos, and though San Juan, on the north coast of Puerto Rico, was bombarded, partly in the expectation of obliging him there to disclose his presence in the harbour.

Before the end of May, however, the position of the Spanish Admiral had been ascertained beyond doubt, and a powerful blockading squadron under Admiral Schley was riding at the harbour's mouth. With a view to render escape still further impracticable, a heroic venture was decided upon. Under a bright moon a collier was steamed into the narrow channel by which exit must be made. On board of her, under the leadership of Hobson, were six no less daring men, who, amidst a storm of projectiles, sank her by means of explosives. The men, after floating about on a raft until morning, were made prisoners by the Spaniards; the collier, however, swung out of position with the tide. Cervera was thus still at liberty to steam forth and try conclusions with his foes, to whom it was open, on their part, to attempt the perilous task of forcing a way through a narrow zigzag channel, mined and commanded by high ground surmounted by batteries. A bombardment of these was decided upon, and took place on June 6th, after the arrival with some additional warships of Admiral Sampson, who assumed the command. The latter and Schley, each with a division of five ships, circled at times to within two thousand yards of the defending batteries, which, in part very old, had been to a certain extent reconstructed. Some of the guns were only short-range muzzle-loaders; there were no modern shelter appliances for the gunners, and the supply of ammunition was scanty. Yet such were the natural advantages of these defences that, though subjected to an apparently overwhelming bombardment, though the marksmanship was good and the shells burst correctly, no great damage was done beyond temporarily silencing the enemy's fire. Some less vigorous bombardments afterwards, effected, of course, no better results.

It was the fourth week in June before the military forces from the United States, designed to act against Santiago, commenced landing in their theatre of operations. Delay in this instance was, however, not to the advantage of the Spaniards. Santiago already, before the arrival of Cervera, was short of provisions. There were about thirty thousand inhabitants and nine thousand troops to be fed. Hitherto the city had depended to a great extent upon a food supply which reached it by sea. This was now cut off. Landwards the mountainous surroundings were infested with guerrillas. In these circumstances the arrival of the Spanish fleet, though the guns and sailors proved useful accessories to the defence of the city, brought the unwelcome addition of two thousand more mouths

to be supplied. Coal was about at an end. Great also was the mortification, both here and at Havana, that the squadron was so weak in the number of its ships.

The first important shore work of the Americans was the seizure by a body of marines, on June 10th, of Guantanamo and its wide, useful harbour, situated some forty miles to the eastward of Santiago. During the operation it was disclosed that the Spanish attempts at submarine defence had been attended with an incredible display of ignorance and blundering. Caimanera, half-way up the bay, and the chief town upon it, was then occupied by the marines, who, having been joined by a body of Cuban insurgents, were not long in overcoming such desultory opposition as was offered by the enemy. The main expeditionary force, nearly seventeen thousand strong, under General Shafter, after having in the first instance drawn back on a rumour of a hostile squadron in Nicholas Channel, commenced to disembark, on June 22nd, at Daiquiri, about seventeen miles to the eastward of Santiago harbour. Siboney, nearer to the latter, was also made use of as a landing-place. During the five days occupied in placing these troops upon shore and pushing ahead an advance force, though the latter became engaged, no opposition was offered to the actual landing. This was owing to Garcia, the Cuban leader, having, in co-operation with Shafter, brought to the locality a considerable insurgent force which, by its guerrilla tactics, drew upon it the attention of the Spanish troops in the vicinity. Otherwise the high mountains, which here stretch along the shore, might have been utilised with deadly effect by the defenders, and it required no military eye to note that the invaders were without many of the most necessary adjuncts for their task in hand.

Within Santiago the shortness of provisions was being succeeded by conditions of actual hunger. The men in garrison had for some time been supplied with rations of bread or rice only; consequently there was much sickness amongst them, while as to the less cared-for population, it was a common occurrence to find them dead or dying in the streets. The supply of ammunition was wholly inadequate. On the other hand, the Americans marched forward towards Santiago in the highest spirits, though the difficulties as to pressing ahead at once became manifest. This portion of the island is mountainous and clothed by forests of that impenetrable thickness which is experienced only in the tropics. It was along mere bridal paths that the advance had to be made; either amidst choking

dust or, after rain, the season for which was now setting in, through mud up to the men's knees.

Soon after quitting the coast the advance force found itself, on June 24th, toiling along two such tracks diverging from Siboney. Under a fierce, oppressive sun, after the confusion of a night march, the spun-out columns made slow progress until their rejunction at Las Guasimas, where the enemy had determined upon making a first stand. In the skirmish which ensued the American attack was at first much obstructed by thick brushwood. High grass further impeded control, which, in fact, passed quickly out of the hands of the officers. It was almost impossible for any leader to have a knowledge of what was passing, even close by, on his immediate right or left; at the same time that the uncertainty was rendered greater from the Spaniards using smokeless powder. However, the men composing the attack rushed eagerly forward, and soon more open ground facilitated progress. Then three Spanish positions were carried in succession by the thousand or so men brought into action, whose total loss amounted to sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded. Seemingly the defenders had, at or near Las Guasimas, as many as four thousand men; and, with every circumstance plainly in their favour, they ought to have contested the ground much more stubbornly.

The general American advance was continued upon a single narrow way to El Poso, an eminence from which Santiago is discernible. Several tracks, some of them almost roads, led from this city through the wooded though, comparatively, less intricate country which lay between the invaders and their goal. Upon this intervening space the Spaniards occupied two fortified posts. One on their right was San Juan, a hill about a mile and a half due east of Santiago, surmounted by a block-house and a farm, and strengthened, together with some open ground in the vicinity, by trenches and barbed-wire fencing. The other on the left, about three miles north-east of San Juan, was El Caney, a large village upon high ground. It included a church, some well-built houses, and a stone fort, and was also protected by entrenchments and entanglements. The plan of attack, decided upon for July 1st, was that El Caney was to be attacked at dawn by a portion of the force, and that this, after attaining its object, as was calculated would happen during the course of the morning, was to rejoin the other portion. Both of them, after junction before San Juan, were to attack it in combination. At the same time, as a diversion, Aguadores, on the

coast close to the harbour's mouth, was to be threatened by a brigade under General Duffield. In this the fleet would be in a position to co-operate.

The assault on El Caney, under General Lawton, with some three thousand five hundred men, commenced as arranged at daybreak; but the American guns, few in number, and of light calibre, made next to no impression on the solid buildings in front of them, while their adversaries, making use of smokeless powder, maintained an accurate shell-fire, and were materially assisted by a number of sharpshooters, judiciously placed in the higher branches of trees. It thus resulted that by three o'clock in the afternoon very little progress had been made. A forward rush was then ordered and responded to with conspicuous gallantry. The whole position was gained by about half-past four, the day's fighting here causing casualties to the assailants amounting to three hundred and eighty killed and wounded. According to the Spaniards they themselves lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners about half of the thousand or so men that were engaged.

Meantime the movement against San Juan, projected, as stated, to be a combined affair, had early on this same 1st of July developed, from some preparatory artillery firing, into a separate regular attack under General Wheeler. In this neighbourhood a single road, at some points barely ten feet broad, led through a densely wooded valley towards more open ground in the vicinity of San Juan; and it was the advance through these thickets into position that precipitated action; for the men, moving about towards the edges, were noticed by the Spanish scouts located in trees, and so an exchange of rifle-fire commenced. Soon the narrow road became blocked, and scenes of harrowing confusion ensued as bodies of men, under both rifle and artillery fire, attempted to form for attack. The discovery of a small track on the left somewhat eased the situation, though a terrible storm of projectiles continued to be directed against the men, acting as they were aimlessly in the front line.

Only slight effect was being produced by the artillery fire from El Poso. No general control over the movements could be exercised. Many orders were shouted out, only to be counter-ordered or to be found impracticable of execution. The men, chafing under delay, called out for a forward move. Plainly enough there was the goal: the hill with its surmounting farm. Commanders, willing enough, hesitated to act without authority. Then, about noon, rushes ahead commenced.

Officers placed themselves in front of any sections of men they found near them, and in this way the general assault launched itself against the position. Tall grass and scattered bushes further broke up all formation. But the men were determined, and rushed ahead : the hill was reached, the defenders fled, and the Stars and Stripes waved aloft; though at a cost of about eleven hundred killed and wounded.

On the part of the Spaniards the losses sustained have not been accurately made public; but we know from independent writers that the fugitives, returning panic-stricken from these engagements, added greatly to the feeling of dejection existing within Santiago. Around its suburbs there was desultory, and in some quarters sharp, fighting during the next two days. Shafter now demanded its surrender. This was refused, and he was certainly not in a position to enforce it. In fact, his condition was precarious; already his casualties had amounted to about one thousand six hundred, and he had not more than ten thousand effectives available on the spot. He telegraphed to Washington for reinforcements, stating that he might be obliged to fall back from the ground he had gained. Adding to the gravity of the situation, the news ran round the camps that Cervera had effected his escape from the harbour.

That Admiral's fleet, we shall presently see, had, by the end of the third day's operations round Santiago, been swept out of existence as completely as that of Montojo. It had, in fact, been driven into the jaws of death, in part at all events, by a fear of the General who was now almost despairing of success against the city. To avoid, however, breaking the thread of events upon land, these may be briefly here run through to their conclusion. Something has been said of the plight of the inhabitants of Santiago; amongst them there was little enough of that heroic spirit which might have rendered a siege prolonged and costly. From various causes the Spanish soldiers had lost all heart. With the departure of Cervera's fleet one thousand two hundred sailors had been taken away from the defence. Now, as that fleet was a thing of the past, seemingly American men-of-war would at any moment be adding their fighting strength to that of the encircling land forces. Plainly the day of surrender was not far ahead. In this way it came about that, though there was some bombarding on the 9th and 10th of the month, an informal truce was maintained between the numerically weak troops without and the half-fed, sickly and desponding men within, while conferences

and overtures were proceeding. On July 17th the city formally surrendered, an event which included a cession of a portion of the east of the island, and an undertaking to convey the Spanish troops to their own country. The Cubans, who in the fighting nearer to Santiago had again rendered efficient service to the invading force, were, to their great chagrin, precluded from all participation in the ceremony and honours of the surrender.

A fortnight before had occurred, as briefly spoken of, the second great and signal naval event of the war. A situation more disheartening than that of Cervera at Santiago it is not easy to conceive. He was closely blockaded in a harbour from which his ships could pass out only one by one, and they were thus liable each in turn to be assailed by a concentrated fire from a fleet superior in every particular to his own. From sunset to dawn the searchlight flashed around him; the enemy's torpedo-boats never for an hour relaxed their vigilance. Tainted rations, no pay, a knowledge that their coal was bad, that some of their guns were ill constructed, and most of their ammunition defective, had naturally produced a dissatisfied temper amongst the crews. Blanco, the Governor-General of the island, with little perception as to the plain facts of the case, had been urging that the fleet must force its way out, and had complained to Madrid of Cervera's want of subordination. Shafter's troops had fought onwards to a position nearly overlooking the Spanish fleet. Now came orders from Blanco that sally forth the Admiral must, after re-embarking the twelve hundred or so men men that he had landed. These, the Admiral expostulated, were actually engaged in fighting; their withdrawal would consequently cause a gap in the line of defence. But peremptory orders were, with the approval of the Madrid Government, sent to Cervera. He thus, though a fortnight before he had telegraphed that the attempt would be attended with the loss of the squadron and a large portion of his men, had now no option but to obey.

This he did, on the morning of Sunday, July 3rd, a clear, sultry day, with no breath of wind to ruffle the calm blue of the ocean. At about half-past nine the signal was flying from ship to ship of the American fleet, "Enemy coming out." Cervera's flagship, the *Maria Tercsa*, led; behind steamed the *Vizcaya*, *Cristobal Colon*, and *Almirante Oquendo*, all armoured cruisers. Following were the destroyers *Furor* and *Pluton*. The American fleet, under Admiral Sampson, comprised the battleships *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Oregon*, *Texas*: the armoured cruisers

New York and *Brooklyn*, the armed yachts *Gloucester* and *Vixen*, and the torpedo-boat *Ericson*. Cervera had decided to attempt an escape rather than a fight. But from the crooked nature of the channel, a low rate of speed only could be maintained by the Spanish ships at their exit. At this point, moreover, shallow water necessitated a continuance of the course, straight in the direction of the enemy, for about a quarter of a mile before turning westward, in pursuance of the Admiral's plan, which was to move as close as practicable to the shore, in view of saving as many lives as possible by beaching the vessels when overpowered, as Cervera foresaw must sooner or later be their fate. Away, then, he steamed, with the shore batteries at first taking a part, and with the American fleet in hot pursuit, dealing death and destruction from shot and shell, and receiving itself practically no injury whatever. Such, in briefest words, describes what there was of fighting. All was over in about five hours.

A more detailed account need not detain us long. The *Maria Teresa*, as she turned at the harbour's mouth, was at once subjected to a severe cannonading; soon water was entering her from more than one shot-hole, and her woodwork was set on fire in several places. Her pursuers saw from her slackened speed that she was in great difficulties; shell after shell had struck her; to continue the fight was impossible. Conscious of this, Cervera, who had remained cool and undaunted at his post, turned inwards for the shore after some six or seven miles of this one-sided struggle. He himself, after he had reached the land, surrendered to the commander of the *Gloucester*.

Even more terrible was the storm of projectiles which, at the outset, assailed the *Oquenda;* so much so that her fate may be said to have been met almost before she had well cleared the harbour. Later, at one time, she became a target for no less than four of her triumphing opponents, who sent several projectiles clean through her. After a fearful explosion had occurred on board, and most of her guns were out of action, she, too, steamed for the beach, about a couple of miles beyond where the *Maria Teresa* was stranded. Similar was the fate of the *Vizcaya*, which managed to prolong her existence until she had fought her way for about fifteen miles from Santiago; though her plight in the end became the most appalling of all. Every attempt at subduing the flames from below was rendered vain, owing to the destruction of her pumps and other contrivances for quenching fire. One pro-

jectile killed or wounded over fifty men ; the surgeons found it absolutely impossible to attend to a number of the unfortunate sufferers. When she finally sought the safety of the shore both her masts were gone ; flames and smoke had driven the men from the guns ; her engine-rooms were fast filling with water.

Some time before this the two destroyers, to which had been assigned the task of assisting the larger Spanish vessels to escape, were themselves wrecks and under water. They had failed altogether to prove a danger : indeed, the terrible storm of projectiles which burst upon them seems to have rendered crews and vessels alike helpless. Soon the *Pluton* was sinking, but had struck the land before she went down. Almost as quickly the *Furor* had every vital portion of her fighting or steaming mechanism maimed. The white flag was run up and she, too, quickly sank. Of the crews of these two vessels, numbering one hundred and forty, only twenty-four escaped with their lives. In the case of each of these ill-fated ships followed to its perdition, officers and men appear to have entered upon a hopeless contest and to have faced death, with a heroism which ought to have reproached to their dying day a horde of corrupt Spanish officials who sent them to their doom. The conduct of the crew of the *Cristobal Colon* cannot be held in the same favourable light. She was the fastest and best armoured of the squadron ; was soon not only outpacing, practically unscathed, her consorts, she was also holding her own with a speed which seemed to give a fair promise of escape. When she had steamed to beyond the enemy's range, her casualties were but one man killed and sixteen wounded. Suddenly, then, after slackening speed, she too turned her bow inwards. A mutinous outbreak had occurred ; many of her men had been hurried upon board ship from fighting in the trenches at Santiago. They complained of ill-treatment : they were probably overworked ; at all events, they took to disabling the guns and attempting to sink the vessel. After striking a reef, somewhat over forty miles from the harbour, she slipped off and sank.

The Spanish losses amounted to about six hundred in killed, drowned, and wounded. Some seventeen hundred prisoners were taken. On the side of the Americans one man only was killed. Very little damage was sustained by their fleet. The most hurtful dangers they experienced were when rescuing their foes : operations which they carried through, amidst bursting boilers and exploding ammunition, with the greatest gallantry and humanity.

During the same week in which Santiago was formally surrendered to General Shafter an advance force sailed from Cuba, the commencement of land operations on the part of the United States against the Spanish island of Puerto Rico. In this instance there was no contention as to shielding an oppressed people, or as to making an end of a state of affairs abhorrent to the feelings of the American nation and injurious to commercial interests and private property. On the contrary, the bulk of the population of Puerto Rico, though greatly neglected in the matter of education, might fairly be described as prosperous and happy. There had been a rising in 1811, and another about the period of the flight of Isabella. Representation by universal suffrage in the Madrid Cortes had been granted in 1870, and the emancipation of the slaves effected in 1873, under conditions which had worked very satisfactorily. Autonomy, similar to that offered in 1897 to Cuba, had here been accepted. In briefest words, the inhabitants, having throughout been treated with consideration, had remained loyal to the mother country.

The aim, then, of the expedition, which was commanded by General Miles, was the possession of the island. A feint was made of landing at Fajardo, a stratagem which was materially aided by the American Press, though under the impression that its information was correct. That harbour lies about thirty-eight miles eastward of San Juan, the capital; Guanica, the chosen landing-place, is situated on the opposite south-west corner of the island. Hence the appearance of the American flotilla was a complete surprise to the inhabitants, most of whom in the first instance made a hurried flight for the interior. But they soon returned, and an amicable understanding was readily established, especially when it was seen that the incursion was attended by cash payments for supplies and by an assumption of the civil administration. Ponce, about ten miles to the eastward, containing some stores and ammunition, as well as possessing a good harbour, was next occupied. After no long interval fourteen thousand States' troops, composed to a considerable extent of Volunteers, were concentrated in this vicinity. Such Spanish soldiers as there were offered but a feeble opposition, while the inhabitants continued to supply provisions and the transport necessary for a forward move.

Broadly the plan of campaign was to advance from the south of the island by four columns, having for their final common objective San Juan, the capital, situated upon the northern coast.

It was trusted that during this progress the inhabitants, as well as a portion at least of the Spanish irregular levies, would be induced to co-operate with the invaders, as soon as it was fully understood that their intention was to establish a more free and enlightened system of government. The centre column, three thousand four hundred strong, marched by a good road upon Aibonito. Aiding it on the south, a force of four thousand eight hundred men proceeded by sea to Arrogo, and then made for Guayama with the same intermediate destination, Aibonito. A similar brief experience of warfare fell to these two columns. Each, after some preliminary reconnoitring, in which a few casualties occurred, found itself in front of a position so strongly held that, apparently, it could only be carried after a sanguinary struggle. At this juncture, in each case, intimation was received that an armistice had been agreed upon by the United States and Spain.

Meantime the third column, numbering about fifteen hundred, had proceeded to Yauco in view of acting against the chief towns of the west coast of the island, and of then circling round to Arecibo on the north, about fifty miles from the capital. It was opposed, near Hormigueras, by a force of rather less strength than its own ; but succeeded in driving its enemy over the river Prieto, with some loss, on the day before news was received of the suspension of hostilities. The fourth column made its way to Arecibo without meeting any Spanish troops : none, in fact, had been sent in this direction because, be it noted, the Spaniards were under the impression that the road was impassable, whereas the invaders traversed it to their goal with wheeled transport. On the general surrender of the island which now followed, everywhere could be noticed the feelings of joy and thankfulness of the Spanish troops at the turn events had taken, and at the prospect of their soon finding themselves again in their own country.

We quitted operations in the Philippines at the stage where Admiral Dewey, having completely destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, was obliged to rest idly on his laurels until a land force from the United States could be added to his naval squadron. These islands had never proved such a source of riches to the mother country as the West Indies ; consequently they had been comparatively neglected. A large portion of the inhabitants had not been reclaimed from barbarism and idolatry : in many parts the villages were in the condition they had been found in on the coming of the Spaniards. Meantime China and

Malay had furnished many immigrants, and as these had been heavily taxed and in other respects harshly treated, they were always more or less ready to rise against the Governors-General sent to them from Spain, who formed no exception to the type already frequently alluded to.

In the island of Luzon, of which Manila is the great commercial centre, there had been insurrectionary movements of late years, particularly during 1896 and 1897. Before, however, the war broke out there had been a general submission. Promises of reforms were made by Spain, but, as elsewhere, the barest attempts were being made to introduce them. Aguinaldo, a bold, adventurous leader, had been exiled; now Dewey's victory brought him again on the scene, and he soon had a large following of all classes of natives. As was to be expected, he commenced attacking and harassing the Spaniards wherever he could. At the same time to the American authorities he showed himself a scarcely less source of anxiety. He could not be ignored; for with him rested the acquisition of local supplies, means of transport, and the materials for the batteries and other field works which were to be erected, in view of forcing Manila to surrender. Towards this latter he could render essential service. The place was but scantily provisioned: the Americans with their ships could only blockade the harbour: Aguinaldo might invest it on all the other sides. But it was quickly evident that he had no intention of accepting the position of a subordinate auxiliary native chief. He brought to the vicinity of Cavite some twelve thousand men, with serviceable rifles and a good supply of ammunition. They had also some guns, though of an obsolete class. At the same time he caused it to be proclaimed that the Americans were there in order to give independence to the island. What he really hoped for and was aiming at was a republic, with himself its as President.

Dewey thus, with merely a foot upon shore, while reinforcements were being despatched to him across the seven thousand miles of the Pacific which separated him from his base at San Francisco, was in an anxious position. Some sea batteries, which defended Manila, were so placed that their reduction could not well be attempted without bombarding the town. This, it was considered, should not take place, for various reasons; amongst others that probably the first shot fired would be the signal for Aguinaldo to force his way through the suburbs. Once within, it was almost a certainty that, from the embittered feelings existing between the two peoples, some horrible scenes

would be witnessed. Moreover, American capital and interests were largely represented in the city.

In this way, while insurrection was spreading over the whole island, procedure on the part of the invaders was for three months limited to the blockade, to taking up some positions on shore, and to bringing together, near Cavite, horses, food, ammunition, and clothing. By the last days of July about eleven thousand men had arrived, and General Merritt, who had been appointed to the command, was preparing to assume a more active offensive. But the enterprising Aguinaldo was at this time occupying ground in front of him, that is, between the Americans and their objective, Manila. He was now self-elected President of the Philippine Republic, and enjoying the expectation of having the islands handed over to him. Presently, however, he was induced to place himself on the right of Merritt, whose left touched the Bay; and in this formation forward progress to the city was made, until the nearest opposing entrenchments were about one thousand yards distant. The intermediate ground was chiefly under cultivation as rice-fields; but as about this period the rainy season set in, the advance was occasionally through swamps, while the trenches were sometimes no sooner cut than they filled with water. Encircling the city, the field works and entrenchments constructed by the defenders were not of a very formidable nature. Altogether the Spanish forces numbered about thirteen thousand; but some of the non-regulars and local levies were anything but trustworthy: several mutinies had occurred amongst them. Within the city it was evident that the defence was not likely to be animated by a spirit of determination. The general feeling was one of despondency.

The fighting opened with desultory attacks upon the American positions, usually by night and not led with much daring; though, on one occasion, the Spaniards inflicted a loss of ten killed and thirty-three wounded. Meanwhile, the difficulties with Aguinaldo were not disappearing. His following had increased to about fifteen thousand: he was attempting to exercise a general dictatorship; to the extent even of laying down the law to Merritt, as to when or where he should land and locate the additional troops that were arriving from the United States. Of this the practical effect was that the two commanders acted independently, at the same time that, owing partly to the continuous rains, a sort of understood truce held good between invaders and defenders. On the 7th of August

it was intimated to the Manila authorities that their city was about to be bombarded, both from the land and the sea : it was suggested, in consequence, that they had better remove the sick and the non-combatants. In reply, it was pointed out that this was impossible, as the insurgents were closing in on all sides. Two days later the surrender of the place was formally demanded. It was refused, unless sanction from Madrid could be obtained. But as there was no direct telegraphic communication with Europe, and it was anticipated that assent would not be given, Merritt declined an inaction which he held to be injurious to his force. Storms sudden and furious were of daily occurrence, The direct heat of the sun was very great. Against neither of these were the Americans adequately protected by the class of tents which had been sent out. Outpost duty was necessarily very heavy. Preparations were accordingly pushed forward for a more resolute activity.

Meanwhile, Jaudanes, the Captain-General, had hit upon a way out of his difficulties in regard to a defence. He would surrender after a show of resistance. At no time, indeed, had there been much inclination for a struggle to the bitter end. Now, with much sickness, the water supply cut off, and horse flesh the only meat procurable, the position of the city was inclining all towards a surrender. The troops had little hope of a final victory ; many of the townspeople possessed valuable belongings ; above all must Aguinaldo and his wild followers be prevented from rushing into the streets as successful assailants. In these circumstances the 13th of August was decided upon for a general assault upon Manila.

The right of the position of the defenders, its shore end, was naturally selected as the main point of attack ; for here the fleet could effectively co-operate ; though on the appointed morning a densely overcast sky and occasional thunderstorms made it difficult to direct the fire from the ships upon specific objects. While this preliminary bombardment was in progress, the impetuous Aguinaldo hastened prematurely the land attack. From the outset, however, it was evident that there was to be no stubborn defence. As the American line pushed forward some of the advanced Spanish trenches were found to be abandoned ; so also was Fort Malate, near the beach. Presently about a thousand prisoners were captured in a body. From buildings and walls in the suburbs, essentially suitable for a lengthened advantageous resistance, only a feeble rifle-fire issued. Some street entrenchments were hastily quitted after

a mere show of holding them. No attempt was made to utilise the churches or other solid public structures.

Here and there certainly occurred some sharp exchanges of shot between small bodies of infantry; but the general opposition was, as intended, little more than a pretence. A white flag was after a while hoisted; parleyings ensued; and by five in the evening the Stars and Stripes had taken the place of the Spanish flag, at a cost of only six killed and about fifty wounded. During the operations there had been the greatest difficulty in restraining the Philippino bands from avenging themselves upon the inhabitants of the suburbs. As it was, although American troops were specially assigned to the task of keeping them under control, as well as from entering the city, they succeeded in indulging in a good deal of pillaging.

It remains to be mentioned that in the middle of June a Spanish fleet, under Admiral Camara, was despatched from Cadiz, bound presumably for the Philippine Islands. After passing the Suez Canal it was recalled; owing, in part at least, to the fact that in the United States about the same time there were active preparations, real or simulated, for sending a naval force across the Atlantic and carrying the war into Spanish waters.

The last shots, then, in the operations were fired, we see, about the same time—that is, towards the middle of August—either in Puerto Rico or at Manila. Already what was patent to the whole world, the futility of continuing the conflict, had been brought home to the Spanish people. Peace negotiations, conducted on behalf of Spain by the French ambassador at Washington, commenced before the end of July and may be said to have been concluded on the 12th of August; though discussions upon details were prolonged until nearly the close of the year. The demand of the United States involved, in the sequel, the loss to Spain of the whole of her West Indian possessions, as well as of the Philippine Islands; though she received in regard to the latter, by way of compensation, twenty million dollars. Guam, a small island in the Ladrones, was likewise ceded. Cuba, pending final arrangements as to its government, was to be handed over to the custody of the United States. Puerto Rico and the Philippines were to pass absolutely to that Power; though in respect to the latter islands Spain was granted for a term certain commercial advantages.

CHARLES III. = Maria Amelia, daughter of Frederick Augustus II. of Saxony.

- Maria Louisa = Emperor Leopold II.
- CHARLES IV. = Louisa Maria, daughter of Philip, Duke of Parma.
  - Charlotte = John VI. of Portugal.
  - Maria Louisa = Louis, King of Etruria.
  - FERDINAND VII. = (4th wife) Christina, daughter of Francis I. of the Two Sicilies.
    - ISABELLA II. = Francis de Asis. (*See opp.*)
      - Isabel = Count of Girgenti.
      - ALFONSO XII. = (1) Mercedes, daughter of Duke of Montpensier. = (2) Maria Christina, daughter of Archduke Carl Ferd. of Austria.
        - Maria de las Mercedes.
        - Isabel Marie.
        - ALFONSO XIII. = Victoria, daughter of Prince Henry of Battenberg.
          - Alfonso.
    - Maria Louisa = Duke of Montpensier.
      - Mercedes. (*See below*)
    - Charles (VI.) = *ob.* s.p.
    - Maria, daughter of Francis I. of the Two Sicilies.
    - John (III.) = Mary B., daughter of Francis IV. of Modena.
      - Charles (VII.) = Margaret daughter of Charles III. of Parma.
        - Jayme.
        - 4 daughters.
      - Alfonso = Maria, daughter of Dom Miguel.
  - Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies.
  - Gabriel = Maria A., daughter of Maria I. of Portugal.
    - Pedro = Maria Theresa, daughter of John VI. of Portugal (The Princess Beira).
      - Don Sebastian.

THE CARLISTS.

- Charles (V.) = Francesca, daughter of John VI. of Portugal.
- Francis de Paula = Louisa Carlotta, daughter of Francis I. of the Two Sicilies.
  - Francis = Isabella II. (*See opp.*)
  - Henry Duke of Seville.

Memoranda.

Charles III., 1759–1788.
Charles IV., 1788–1808 (Abd.).
Joseph Bonaparte and Peninsular War Period, 1808–1813.
Ferdinand VII. returned to Spain, March, 1814. Died 1833.
Isabella II., 1833. Quitted Spain, Sept., 1868.
Interregnum, Sept., 1868–Dec., 1870.
Amadeus I., Dec., 1870; Res. Feb., 1873.
The Republic, Feb., 1873–Dec., 1874.
Alfonso XII., 1874–1885.
Alfonso XIII. (Posth. 1886).—

ROYAL FAMILY OF PORTUGAL

MARIA I. = PEDRO III.

JOHN VI. = Charlotte, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain.

Isabella = (2) Ferd. VII. of Spain.

Francesca = (1) Don Carlos (2) = (2) Maria Theresa (1) = Pedro of Spain.

Don Sebastian.

PEDRO IV. = Leopoldine, daughter of Emperor Francis II.

Isabella Maria.

Dom Miguel.

Miguel. Daughters.

MARIA II. da GLORIA = (1) Augustus of Leuchtenberg.
= (2) Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg.

Pedro II. of Brazil.

PEDRO V. = Stephanie of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen.
ob. s.p.

LOUIS I. = Maria Pia, daughter of Victor Emanuel II. of Italy.

John, *ob.* 1861.

Ferdinand, *ob.* 1861.

Three Daughters.

CARLOS I. = Marie Amélie, daughter of Count of Paris.

Alfonso.

Louis Philippe.

MANUEL II.

Memoranda.

Maria I. and Pedro III., niece and uncle, reigned together, 1777–1786, when P. *ob.* M. alone until 1800, when, owing to her insanity, her son John was appointed Regent.
John VI., 1816 (date of death of Maria I.) –1826.
The Portuguese Court departed for Brazil, 1807 ; returned 1821.
Pedro IV. never reigned in Portugal. Emperor of Brazil, 1826–1831.

Dom Miguel and the ursupation period, 1826–1834.
Maria II., 1826 or 1834–1853.
Pedro V., 1853–1861.
Louis I., 1861–1889.
Carlos I., 1889–1908.
Manuel II., 1908–

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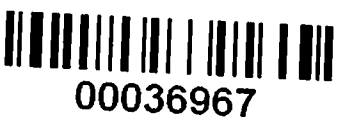
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